

# Y E A R B O O K

of the

National Probation Association

1936

CURRENT OPINION ON THE TREATMENT  
AND PREVENTION OF DELINQUENCY AND  
CRIME. PAPERS GIVEN AT THE THIRTIETH  
ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF THE ASSOCIATION  
AT ATLANTIC CITY, N. J., MAY 22-27, 1936.

*Edited by*

MARJORIE BELL

THE NATIONAL PROBATION ASSOCIATION  
50 WEST FIFTIETH STREET  
NEW YORK

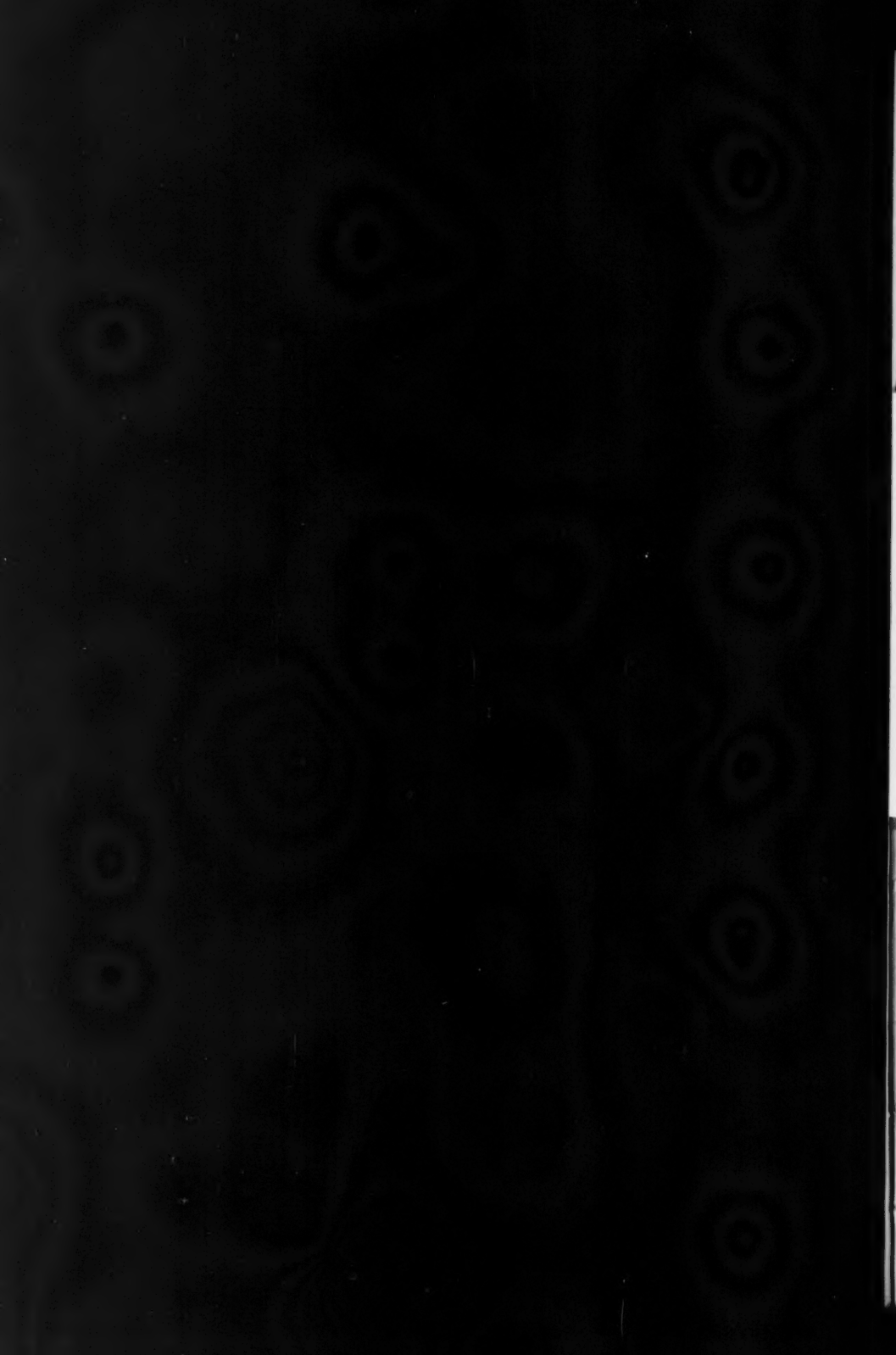
# THE BOOK

OF THE

1887

1887

Correction -  
Page 119, Line 15:  
Change domestic to democratic



Sociology  
Faxon  
11-23-36

## Foreword

A NEW emphasis on community responsibility for delinquency and crime; a more penetrating insight into the deeper causes operating in individual conflict with the law; a renewed zest in the struggle for the social approach to one of the greatest of social problems, characterized the thirtieth annual conference of the National Probation Association held in Atlantic City, New Jersey, May 22-27, 1936.

One entire day of the conference was given to discussion of coordinating councils and similar community movements for the prevention of delinquency, a day which connected the conference more closely with the whole movement of social work. Lay participation—the role of the individual citizen in this community cooperative urge—was enthusiastically defined and charted.

The more technical aspects of the probation field, case work, psychiatric study, and the growth of professional standards, were also themes of the conference. The larger national aspects of crime control and the programs of various governmental agencies were interpreted. The work of the Association, including some new functions assumed during the year, was presented to the members. Important decisions were made and valuable suggestions presented for the coming year.

This volume, larger than previous Yearbooks, is presented to our members and to the public as a contribution of outstanding importance to the literature about crime and delinquency.

CHARLES L. CHUTE

October, 1936



# TABLE OF CONTENTS

## I. THE COMMUNITY APPROACH TO DELINQUENCY PREVENTION

	Page
Frederic M. Thrasher Reaching Crime Causes by Coordinated Action .....	1
Charles E. Hendry Lay Participation in Improving Environment .....	24
Arthur Alden Guild The Organization of Social Work by Neighborhoods .....	37
Louise McGuire Community Factors in Delinquency Prevention .....	46
Henry W. Waltz A Community Experiment .....	60
Kenyon J. Scudder The Coordinating Council at Work.....	67
Leonard W. Mayo Town and Village Councils.....	78
Kenneth S. Beam Community Coordination for Prevention of Delinquency .....	89
The First National Conference on Coordinating Councils.....	116
National Roster of Coordinating Councils.....	135
Report of the Advisory Committee.....	149
Bibliography .....	153

## II. THE USE OF VOLUNTEERS

Marjorie Bell The Volunteer Aids the Court.....	156
---	-----

## III. THE INDIVIDUAL APPROACH TO THE TREATMENT OF DELINQUENCY

John Slawson Individual Factors in Crime Prevention and Treatment .....	175
Hans Weiss Our Relationship with the Child.....	193
Mary A. Neary Selecting Clients for the Juvenile Court.....	209
Elmer W. Reeves Case Work with the Adult Delinquent.....	222
✕ Edward J. Crawley Aiding the Adult Probationer.....	233
Agnes C. Sullivan Principles and Values in Case Recording....	240

#### IV. PSYCHIATRIC INTERPRETATION

Douglas A. Thom	The Normal Adolescent .....	253
Lowell S. Selling	The Psychiatrist and the Probation Officer..	266

#### V. CHILDREN UNDER FEDERAL PROTECTION

Katharine F. Lenroot	The Government and the Child in Need.....	280
Carl Britt Hyatt	New Treatment for the Federal Juvenile Offender .....	291

#### VI. JUDICIAL RESPONSIBILITY FOR PROBATION STANDARDS

Gustav L. Schramm	Developing Probation as a Profession.....	298
Henry S. Waldman	The Judge in His Community.....	309
* Cecil B. Wiener	The Probation Triangle.....	317

#### VII. CRIME CONTROL

Sheldon Glueck	Contributors to Correctional Science.....	325
Joseph N. Ulman	Prison Reorganization and Crime Control....	345
✓ Austin H. McCormick	The Social Approach to Delinquency and Crime .....	357

#### VIII. THE NATIONAL PROBATION ASSOCIATION

Charles L. Chute	Review of the Year 1935-1936.....	372
Treasurer's Report .....		388
Minutes of the Annual Meeting.....		391
Minutes, Meeting of the Professional Council.....		403
Meeting of the Juvenile Court Judges.....		408
Report of the Committee on Case Records.....		413
Officers, Board of Trustees, Staff, Advisory Committee.....		418
Professional Council of the Association.....		420
Case Record Committee.....		421
By-laws of the Association.....		422
Program of the Association .....		426
INDEX .....		428

# I THE COMMUNITY APPROACH TO DELINQUENCY PREVENTION

---

## Reaching Crime Causes by Coordinated Action

FREDERIC M. THRASHER

*Associate Professor of Education, New York University*

**I**N discussing crime prevention it is important to point out that no program can have any hope of success without striking at the causes of crime. We cannot cure a disease merely by attacking its symptoms. It may as well be said at the outset of this discussion that when we spend time and money in catching and convicting our public enemies and fourth offenders, we are not striking at the causes of crime, but we are merely dealing with its symptoms. The finished criminal is the end product of a long process of development usually beginning in childhood. Every hardened criminal has a natural history through which we may trace back by logical stages the development of his character and personality. There is no question, of course, but that crime prevention may apply to his problem at any point in the development of his career. Thus effective probation and parole work is good and necessary crime prevention, but an earlier, more effective and economical form of prevention nips the criminal career in the bud. The earlier these preventive measures are applied the better. It is this type of attack that the coordinating council movement is best adapted to promote.

In order to see in its true perspective the opportunity presented by the community coordination movement, it is necessary to consider at the outset certain significant generalizations that markedly affect the problem. It must be remembered that the determination of the causes of crime is one of the most difficult problems with which science has to deal. To say that it has been solved would be grossly to exaggerate the facts. As a science, criminology is still in its embryonic stages. There are almost as many theories of crime causation as there are criminologists. This does not mean, however, that nothing can be done along the lines of crime prevention. Most of these theories boil down to two major emphases: the first, the anthropological, including heredity, the germ plasm, and biological factors in general; the second, the sociological, that of the social environment and cultural patterns and influences.

In discussing the problem from this angle we are soon involved in the hopeless bog of the old and futile question as to which is more important, heredity or environment. This is no longer a burning issue to the scientist because it has been made clear that biological and sociological mechanisms are involved in every instance of human behavior and that even to ask such a question is to beg it. If it were not for the biological constitution of man with its endless variations, there would be no crime. On the other hand, if it were not for the numerous social codes and corresponding criminal laws demanding certain standards of conduct from members of every group, there would be no crime. From a practical standpoint the important question is not which is more important, anthropological or social factors in misconduct, but what elements in the causal complex can be manipulated in the interest of social control.

In considering the question of crime causation it is

important also to point out that crime is a legal rather than a sociological concept. Crime is defined legally as any overt act of omission or commission carried out with a culpable intent. An act without a culpable intent is not a crime. I may go into the automat and by mistake carry off somebody else's hat. That is not a crime. Culpable intent on the other hand without an overt act is not a crime. I may go into the automat with the intention of stealing somebody else's hat, but by mistake take my own hat. That is not a crime. For any act to be a crime, furthermore, it must be so defined by law with an attached penalty. An immediate and sure way to rid the country of crime, therefore, would be to repeal all criminal laws. Then there would be no more crime, but we should still continue to have socially harmful acts which would be very disturbing to all of us. It should be pointed out in this connection that even with all our numerous criminal laws, we have omitted many socially injurious acts which deserve to be put into the category of crime. The increasing complexity of financial operations, for example, gives so many new opportunities for predatory activities that it is impossible for the criminal law to keep up with them,—to overcome its social lag.

Another important point which should be made clear at the outset of any discussion of the causes of crime is that crime is not a single or unitary phenomenon. A well directed analysis of the causes of crime will indicate that it is not <sup>one</sup> problem, but many, and that it must be attacked on many fronts without adherence to panaceas. It embraces such a wide range of disapproved and socially harmful behavior that its manifestations present an endless variety. Crimes against property are quite different from those against the person and there are many other kinds of crimes that have nothing in common with these two classifications. It is obvious

therefore that there can be no single theory of causation since crime springs from such a variety of different situations. Any explanation of crime must be pluralistic rather than monistic.

Furthermore it should be pointed out that the causes involved in the same type of crime, such as stealing, may vary widely with different kinds of criminals. The kleptomaniac is not to be confused with the ten year old boy who steals from a fruit stand. Nor is the embezzler likely to have much in common with the bank-robber who has come up through a long history of crimes of violence.

One of the great difficulties in the whole field of crime control has been that we have had many experts each harping on his own pet theory of crime cure as a result of his own specialized experience. As Justin Miller once said at the City Club in New York, "There have been too many prima donnas in the field of crime control." Our basic need seems to be to see the problem whole, and to see the varied interrelations between its multiform phases.

### *Causes of Crime*

✓ Let us now review some of the chief causes responsible for the genesis of crime in an attempt to see how a program of community coordination may be related to them. Since one important element in the situation is a widespread prevalence of public indifference to end ignorance of the crime problem, the education of the public becomes one of the most important procedures in any program of crime prevention. It is useless to devise methods of preventing crime if they cannot enlist public support. In order to promote public enlightenment along these lines, twenty-five leading American

criminologists have joined together to form the National Committee on Public Education for Crime Control. Their purpose is to disseminate sound, scientific information on the crime problem through the press, the radio, the movies, and the public meeting.

Public education, however, is but one phase of a program of crime prevention. Another, and a most important attack, is the movement to break the corrupt alliance between crime and politics. Organized crime cannot exist without political protection and it is the shame of America that local politics has so often sold out to the underworld. The remedy is non-partisan citizen action to assure the non-political administration of local government. The city-manager plan in Cincinnati and the socialist regime in Milwaukee are examples of what may be accomplished along these lines.

Another basic attack upon the crime problem must be made through the reform of our criminal law. The American Law Institute has done a fine piece of work in restating the substantive criminal law, but something more than restatement is needed to take up the cultural lag which characterizes the criminal law and to bring it into line with modern conditions. What is necessary is a thorough-going revision of the procedural and administrative criminal law as well as the body of substantive law. The archaic state laws dealing with crime need to be replaced with model criminal codes which have the approval and support of the leaders of the bar and the associations which they represent.

Another important line of attack on crime and racketeering, made necessary by the inefficiency of city, county and state crime control, is through the organization of the business enemies of crime. The notable work of the Chicago Association of Commerce (the "Secret Six"), the Chicago Employers' Association, and the Chi-

cago Crime Commission in securing the conviction of public enemies is well known. Better Business Bureaus throughout the country have operated particularly in the field of exposing and preventing advertising frauds. The efforts of the business enemies of crime, however, have never been completely effective or entirely intelligent because they have usually concentrated upon the detection, apprehension, and conviction of the criminal with little emphasis upon measures of prevention, and because they have done too little to improve the low state of business morality which is so prevalent at the present time. In addition to the types of crime represented by the various forms of violence, thievery, and racketeering, there is a vast field of business fraud, which would probably rank next to drunkenness and disorderly conduct (the most common of all crimes) in the frequency of its occurrence if all cases of such frauds were recorded.

Although poverty *per se* can never be recognized as a cause of crime, it may be an important contributing factor in that it permits positive crimino-genetic factors to operate with greater facility. Unemployment likewise may play a similar role in the genesis of crime, particularly where unemployed youth is left to be the prey of idleness among the demoralizing conditions of the delinquency area. In this connection it should be pointed out that the Civilian Conservation Corps is one of the most important and effective instrumentalities of crime prevention at the present moment. It has removed thousands of older adolescent boys from the demoralizing influences of rural and city slums. By removing unemployed city youths beyond the reach of the urban underworld, it has constituted one of the most important factors in stemming the post-prohibition crime wave.

Other important phases of an effective crime preven-

tion program which need only be mentioned are better methods of detection and apprehension of criminals; more adequate prosecution of criminal cases; better handling of crime subjects by newspapers, periodicals, the radio, and the movies; more extended use and better support of the principle of probation in dealing with first offenders; more enlightened administration of correctional and penal institutions; and more intelligent and effective treatment of offenders discharged from such institutions. The problem of the ex-convict is one of greatest importance because society too often promotes delinquent careers by its stupid methods of dealing with these offenders. Demoralizing incarceration is too often followed by policies of repression and neglect ideally calculated to make inevitable the development of the hardened criminal,—the gangster, the racketeer, and the public enemy.

There is a tremendous fallacy in the too exclusive attack on the public enemy phase of crime, although it must be admitted that this procedure is absolutely necessary if the community is to be protected against the results of its own neglect in failing to control the social influences which produce criminality. Crime, vice, and racketeering, to be cured must be attacked at their roots as well as at their points of superficial manifestation. A good physician not only attempts to reduce a fever in his patient, but he attempts to discover and control the causes of the fever and if real progress is to be made in disease control, he knows that the malarial swamps which are the sources of the contagion must be drained. Fourth offenders and public enemies are but the symptoms of a disease of society, and while they must be dealt with promptly and efficiently, no cure can be effected without draining the swamps of slums and delinquency areas which breed potential criminals.

*Community Disorganization*

In order to strike at the roots of crime it is necessary to know where and how criminals are made. These facts are known and the remedies are also known, although they have never been effectively applied. Criminals are made largely in childhood and adolescence and they are very largely the vintage of the so-called delinquency areas which can be accurately delimited in any American community. The remedy, obviously, is to go into the delinquency areas and to prevent the development of delinquent careers by counteracting the demoralizing forces which promote such development. This can be brought about only by community reorganization which will make possible the effective application of well recognized programs of education, recreation, and welfare in such areas. Such measures will make provision for the children in these districts to develop normally and to become incorporated in the recognized social groups and activities which characterize the law-abiding community. This is crime prevention in its most fundamental sense.

It has slowly dawned upon thoughtful students of this problem everywhere that this approach is the only sound one in dealing with prospective criminals. As has been indicated in Mr. Beam's report,<sup>1</sup> the result is now becoming manifest in all parts of the country where a great variety of persons and groups are urging and actually developing programs to prevent the development of criminal careers by wholesome nurturing of the potential delinquent. Although most of these programs have hardly gone beyond the discussing and planning stage, they give promise of success in crime prevention.

In order to clarify further the issues involved in the prevention of juvenile delinquency and crime, let us ask

1. See page 89.

what the new sociological programs possess which has been lacking in our older approaches to the problem.

Any unbiased survey of a typical American community reveals a surprising amount of social disorganization. An impartial observer of American life before the depression and, indeed, even before 1914, could not have missed the fact that social disorganization was a striking characteristic then as now. This problem, therefore, antedates both the depression and the war. It is more or less inherent in a social order motivated largely by individualism and *laissez faire*. Briefly, it grows out of the fact that many important social functions have been performed by institutions strongly motivated by ideals and policies which have been formulated independently of the rest of the community. The result has been the development of a social *order* whose fundamental characteristic is *disorder*. In spite of some significant exceptions here and there, social disorganization is prevalent and outstanding, and with all its evil consequences of wasted man-power and resources and of social maladjustment and privation, it is a sorry spectacle in a country that advertises so enthusiastically its achievements in the fields of education, social work, and community organization.

We are finally beginning to realize that some of our social problems, such as crime and juvenile delinquency, which have persisted in varying forms since before the World War, are not due to the entrance into the picture of new forces growing out of war and economic crisis. On the contrary, they are merely the persistent and costly results of basic community disorganization which has been little affected, except to be made somewhat more acute, either by war or depression. To come to the point, the trouble is exactly this: delinquency and crime along with other social problems have lacked a sociological

approach which long ago should have pointed a way to their solution.

### *Inadequacy of Social Agency Programs*

Prevention agencies of the conventional educational, recreational and welfare types, possessed of impressive ideals and ambitious programs, have been at work in delinquency areas for several decades. Yet crime has not been prevented, has even grown more threatening in many aspects. Studies of these communities and the way these agencies have functioned reveal the difficulty. We come back to our previous assertion: *there has been no truly sociological approach to the problem of crime prevention*. Instead, the preventive agencies have been working more or less individualistically, often as if in a vacuum so far as the other social forces in the community are concerned. This may not appear to be true to the casual observer who attends conferences and luncheons and observes the friendly cooperative (speaking) relations among the agencies involved. To the deeper student of the situation, however, it becomes apparent that there is little vital community planning and that definite concentration of responsibility and fundamental co-ordination and integration of effort are lacking. Thus the essentials to achieving successful crime prevention are noteworthy by their absence.

The failure of the programs of many educational, welfare and recreational agencies to really succeed in meeting community needs may be best summed up by the term, "institutional mindedness." This is the collective individualism which puts the supposed success of institutional activities ahead of community programs. The needs of the community as a whole in the field in which the institution is rendering service, and often the very

functions which it is supposed to perform for its own constituency, are subordinated to certain traditional standards of institutional success which have come to be accepted by personnel and boards of directors. Vested interests undoubtedly enter the picture at this point, but whatever the explanation, the fact remains that community planning for crime prevention and consequent coordination and integration of activities into a well-rounded preventive program are nearly impossible under these conditions.

I think we ought to list the "institutional mindedness" of preventive agencies as one of the chief causes of crime and it is here that the coordination movement discovers its greatest contribution and possibly its biggest fight. Let us make the matter clear by considering the field of recreation as a wholesome preventive influence. One of the most potent causes of crime operating in the beginnings of criminal careers is the unwholesome use of leisure. This is particularly important in crime-breeding areas where patterns of delinquency and criminalistic attitudes spread like a contagion through the ubiquitous play groups and gangs that infest the streets of such areas. The streets grant no diplomas and give no degrees, but they educate with fatal precision. In my Chicago study I secured data on 1,313 gangs and I estimated that from 25,000 to 30,000 boys and young men were under the direct or indirect influence of delinquent gangs. In our study of one delinquency area in New York City, we discovered approximately 29,000 children between the ages of six and sixteen, and it was found that practically 60 per cent of these children spend their leisure time on the streets where they are subject in many cases to the direct influence of the underworld.

For these reasons the success of the wholesome recreational programs in a crime breeding area becomes a

matter of real concern. Here a great variety of social groups and institutions are actively engaged in ministering to the leisure time needs of children and adolescents. Efficient recreational organization is basic to any crime prevention program; for it is generally conceded that the adequate control of the leisure-time activities of children and adolescents in a crime-breeding area will accomplish more in the ultimate prevention of crime than any other one remedy that could be applied.

A recreational program for the children of a given community, if it is to be scientifically valid, must be based upon a complete study of the leisure-time activities and needs of *all* children and *all* sections of such a community. Furthermore, and this is a prime essential, it must discover the relationship of recreational activities to other phases of community life. Most recreational agencies have been content to pursue their particular policies in the service of limited clienteles, largely unaware of the problem of the real integration and articulation of their programs with the activities of other agencies in an attempt to do a well-rounded recreational job for all the children in the community. The result in some cases has been a high degree of institutional efficiency, but a failure of all such institutions combined to do a good piece of recreational work for the whole community.

The concrete results of this situation are disturbing. One finds hundreds and often thousands of children entirely missed by recreational agencies, often children who are most in need of organized leisure-time activities. They are missed because they are nobody's responsibility. There is no adequate community-wide system of child accounting. No agency knows how many children of different ages there actually are in a given block and to what extent their leisure-time needs are being provided for. The agencies usually take as participants only the

children who come to them either spontaneously or as a result of special membership drives. In either case many are lost. The percentages of children who drop out of recreational programs are surprisingly large, and the extent to which they go from one agency to another without ever getting the benefit of permanent connection with any is great. This excessive turnover is due in part at least to the lack of community recreational planning.

Not only in children missed and in children lost do the ill effects of the lack of a sociological approach manifest themselves, but also in the uneconomic use of recreational facilities. We sometimes find long lines of boys waiting to use a gymnasium with similar facilities not too far away entirely unused at the same hour. We find thousands of children playing in crowded traffic streets with the near by park or playground practically deserted. We find little-used thoroughfares which could easily be roped off as play streets; yet children near by are playing stick-ball in the midst of constant traffic hazards. We discover city-owned vacant lots lying idle and unsightly in congested areas which suffer from a dearth of outdoor recreational facilities. We find school buildings, school-rooms, and school recreational facilities in crime-breeding areas closed to children after three o'clock in the afternoon, and closed on Saturdays, Sundays, holidays, and in vacation time. We find excellent recreational facilities curtailing their services or closing up on Sundays, holidays, and during the summer vacation when children are most likely to be subjected to the demoralizing influences of the streets. Who knows the recreational resources of a given neighborhood or community? Who can advise a child in need of or in search of a leisure-time program as to how he can plan to spend his leisure hours in a wholesome and interesting way? There is no one in the community, for the most part, who has either the facts

✓ or the experience to perform this type of much needed service. We suggest a *sociologically trained* recreational adviser attached to every coordinating council.

### *Prevention by Coordination*

These considerations lead us to point out that a preventive program working with the group and the community promises quicker and more economical realization of the goal of crime prevention than one dealing merely with unadjusted individuals who come to the attention of attendance officers, juvenile courts, guidance clinics, and similar agencies. While it is necessary to deal with the individual problem child from the standpoint of crime prevention, it is probably more important to go out and redeem the so-called "bad companions" who are so often held responsible for the downfall of the individual. The individual product of the gang, the pool-room or the streets is but a symptom of the processes of demoralization which are producing delinquents in wholesale lots. Sociologically, therefore, the individual delinquent is far less important than the community influences which create him. If the pool-room or similar hangout, for example, is the "cradle of crime," it is far more economical to regulate it rigidly, or to wipe it out entirely by providing more effective substitutes, than it is to maintain an elaborate and expensive social machinery to correct the individual maladjustments which it produces or to protect society from the constant streams of delinquents which emerge from it.

✓ The primary attack of the coordinating council movement, in my opinion, should be an attempt to control the social contagion of delinquent patterns and attitudes. This is largely a problem of the control of the child's social contacts and the complete organization of his spare

time. Demoralizing social contacts whether encountered in spare time, at home, at school, at work, or in all the casual associations of a delinquency area, represent the positive crimino-genetic factors which promote the beginnings of criminal careers. I am not forgetting that there are numerous contributory causes of crime whose control is also essential in attacking the roots of crime. Mental and physical defects, emotional disturbances, psychopathic characteristics, bad housing, unattractive homes, congested living quarters, lack of spending money, academic school curricula forced on manually-minded children, ineffective functioning of any wholesome social institution,—all these and many more constitute contributory factors in the genesis of crime. They are dangerous in that they create for the child situations favorable for assimilation of delinquent behavior patterns and attitudes. Yet no one of these causes can be attacked with any degree of assurance unless the demoralizing social contacts of the child are controlled.

The community coordination program gives great promise primarily because it can make the work of all preventive agencies really effective for all the children in the community. It must be remembered that crime prevention is only one function in the development of child life and I believe that it should be incidental to the adequate performance of the whole gamut of normal social functions. If child health is being properly cared for in a delinquency area by means of a well-coordinated health program, the contributory causes of delinquency lying in the field of physical pathology tend to be automatically eliminated. The same thing is accomplished in other fields if the community program in each field is well coordinated and if the activities in each field are well articulated with each other.

But what do we actually find in the various fields

where the preventive agencies should be doing effective work in contributing their part to a complete community program? We find that the same chaotic situation which exists generally in the field of leisure-time programs for children, prevails in varying degree among other preventive services and agencies.

The outstanding need in the field of crime prevention is for community reorganization in the direction of an integration of all preventive forces into a well-planned coordinated community program. Many different types of institutions must be relied upon to perform important functions in connection with prevention. The home, the school, the church, the welfare agency, the recreational program, the police, the guidance clinic, the juvenile court, the correctional institution, and the research agency are all vitally involved. Not one of these institutions working alone, however, can carry out a successful preventive program. The pursuance of institutional aims and programs, moreover, without reference to their meaning for the community plan, is more than likely to result in duplication of effort and working at cross purposes, even where identical goals are being pursued.

### *The Individual Approach*

Let us consider some of the individual services which must make contributions to the prevention of delinquency, and then discuss the method of their integration into a community program.

Delinquency and potential criminality can best be prevented by satisfying and wholesomely educative home and family life. This is the best example of what I mean by prevention of contagion of delinquent patterns and attitudes through controlling the social contacts of the child. Where the family is functioning at full efficiency,

it is almost universally successful in counteracting outside demoralizing influences and in guiding the complete organization of the child's activities without as well as within its own confines. This, of course, it can do only with the aid of the wholesome educational and recreational resources of the community. In *crime breeding* areas, however, the home is not equipped to perform this service; it cannot effectively organize the time of the child and especially of the adolescent. It cannot compete with the street, the gang, the hang-out and the agencies of commercialized amusement. It must depend on outside assistance to a very large extent.

The problem of the inadequate family appears to be partly one of parent education. Parents have a large responsibility in crime prevention both in their own reactions to their children and in control of the children's relationships to outside influences. The coordinating councils should play an important part in integrating the efforts of the community in the field of parent education.

The best place to detect the child who is likely to become a delinquent, or whose actual truancy and delinquency foreshadow the development of criminality, is in the school, for the simple reason that all children must pass through the elementary school system. No other agency, aside from the home, has such a magnificent opportunity for the work of crime prevention because most of the other agencies contact only a few of the potential delinquents and many of them deal only with those cases which have already begun their delinquent careers. The school, moreover, has a more definite responsibility than the home in the delinquency area because it is a well-organized institution guided by trained and intelligent personnel whose sole interest is in promoting the present welfare and future citizenship of the child.

Researches have shown that the school child who is

to become delinquent and ultimately criminal, usually manifests behavior problems which can be readily detected early in his school experience. Thus, the potential delinquent may be spotted and dealt with by the school long before his case becomes acute, and at a period in his development when the prognosis for successful adjustment is brightest. While the achievements of the schools along these lines have been very uneven and limited, in some communities certain procedures have been developed to a high degree of excellence. These efforts have usually taken the form of special mechanisms for adjusting the problem child or for bridging the gap between the school and the home. The guidance clinic in the school exemplifies the former method, while the visiting teacher and the parent-teacher association illustrate the latter.

The child study and guidance clinics of the community have important functions to perform in discovering potential and actual delinquents, in diagnosing their problems, and in planning their adjustments. Such clinics are indispensable in handling acute behavior problems of children. The guidance clinics alone, however, cannot prevent delinquency and crime. They must depend upon community organization to carry out their recommendations and to provide a wholesome spare-time program for all the children of the neighborhood.

The visiting teacher, whose work has been developed with success in a few school systems though nowhere adequately, is an important factor in a crime prevention program. Like the guidance clinic, however, the visiting teacher must depend upon extramural community organization to handle the leisure-time needs of her children. The influence of both the guidance clinic and the visiting teacher on crime prevention, however, has been very limited because these functions have not been developed in

the majority of communities which need their services most, and in many cases where they have been adopted, they have not been supported sufficiently to mitigate the problem appreciably.

The parent-teacher association holds great promise for parent education, but its chief limitation from the standpoint of crime prevention is its failure to reach the parents most in need of its influence, particularly the parents of actual and potential delinquents.

The preventive functions of the welfare, religious and recreational agencies, the school attendance officers, the police, the correctional institution, and the juvenile court are too well known to require special discussion. Their successes and shortcomings have been effectively presented in the literature of the subject. The major shortcomings of their work so far as crime prevention is concerned is a lack of coordination and integration of their activities. Conferences and cooperation among them in planning and executing therapeutic and preventive work is essential not only in the proper treatment of individual problem children, but also in handling the delinquent group, in controlling demoralizing community conditions, and in developing new facilities to take care of unmet needs in crime-breeding areas.

### *Concentrating Responsibility*

In order to achieve coordination and integration of activities in a well-planned community program of crime prevention, it is absolutely necessary that there be a concentration of responsibility for the performance of this function. This principle has been well demonstrated in the field of district health planning. What is everybody's business is nobody's business, and this aphorism, trite though it is, neatly characterizes the present situation with regard to delinquency and crime in most American

communities. Not one of the agencies mentioned above, including the school, can successfully execute a crime prevention program alone; yet not one of them, except in rare cases, has assumed the responsibility for organizing a well-planned community program which would effectively coordinate and integrate all services essential to good preventive work.

Experience has shown that leadership in developing a community program for crime prevention may originate in almost any social group or institution interested in the problem: a recreation department, a police department, an individual school or school system, a principals' association, a juvenile court, a visiting teacher, a college or university, a council of social agencies, or some socially minded person. No matter from what source comes the initiative for such a plan, its success depends upon how thoroughly it incorporates the necessary sociological principles. A crime prevention program must in all cases follow the same general pattern and it must include certain essential functions as a condition to its ultimate success.

The essential elements of such a program for a local community may now be stated:

### I. The general purpose:

A comprehensive, systematic, and integrated social program to incorporate all children in the delinquency area, especially all the maladjusted and those likely to become delinquents, into activities, groups, and organizations providing for their leisure-time interests as well as all other normal needs.

### II. Means to the achievement of this purpose:

1. Concentration of responsibility for crime prevention in the local delinquency area (a problem of community organization).
2. Research to procure essential facts and keep them up-to-date as a basis for an initial and progressively developing crime-

prevention program, including thorough-going child accounting for the whole community.

3. Utilization of services and cooperation of all preventive agencies existing in the given community (a problem of community organization).

4. Application of the preventive program systematically to all children in the delinquency area of the local community,—to groups as well as individuals.

5. Changing, by means of concerted community action, community conditions discovered to be demoralizing to individuals or groups of children and adolescents. Continuing investigation of community conditions and facilities.

6. Creation of new agencies, if necessary, to supplement existing social organizations wherever definite needs are discovered which cannot be met by existing facilities (a problem of community organization).

7. Education of the community and the public generally to understand and support the program.

I wish to leave with you a final suggestion, namely, the possibility of creating in every community a crime prevention authority, backed by state or local law which will develop and support sociologically developed councils of social agencies, coordinating councils, and similar community programs. In New York we have the Port Authority which cuts across state lines in its concentration of responsibility for carrying out a unified plan of port development. This type of authority is necessary to coordinate and integrate activities of different groups, institutions, cities and states in the achievement of a single important purpose upon which there can be no disagreement. Crime prevention is an analagous case. We have a Public Housing Authority because no one government department or private agency is able to take this responsibility and deal constructively with all aspects of the housing problem. We have a similar but even more striking situation in the case of crime prevention in the fundamental sense in which I have outlined it here. The

police department, for example, has many important functions in this connection, but crime prevention as described above goes far beyond police functions. Likewise an effective community program goes far beyond the legitimate functions of any single preventive agency. Why not face the fact squarely that crime prevention which is really worthy of the name can be carried on only by an agency capable of assuming definite responsibility for it and coordinating and integrating the work of all preventive groups and institutions?

Such an authority should be so constituted, furthermore, as to be able to transcend political boundaries of villages and local communities within a city or a metropolitan area, in the same way as it would transcend the lines separating the work of one preventive institution from another in the interests of complete and effective service of potential delinquents and criminals.

It is well known that the criminal does not respect political subdivisions. Commissioner Valentine may be successful in driving criminals out of New York City, but they have to go somewhere. What about Jersey City and Newark? Furthermore, the delinquents bred in the blighted areas of New York are a menace to other communities, and those developed in the delinquency areas of the outlying districts are a constant menace to the residents and business of New York City.

The problem of crime prevention at the present time is nobody's business for the simple reason that it is everybody's business. In reality it involves an essential single purpose affecting public welfare in a most vital way. Why not, therefore, give the crime prevention authority some real power to encourage the development of community and regional programs? Let it be composed of representatives of all agencies, public or private, whose services are necessary to make such a program effective.

Make it, however, something more than a volunteer committee of social workers by giving it a definite legal status. It would proceed most effectively, undoubtedly, by stimulating social agencies, groups, and institutions voluntarily to develop crime prevention work, but it would also be in a position to bring strong pressure to bear for the development of thorough-going and effective community programs.

There is no escape from the fact that ultimately crime prevention must be organized on the basis of the larger community. The county must undoubtedly be the unit in the less populous and rural areas, while the metropolitan area itself is hardly too large for the organization of this work in our larger cities. Every local community, of course, must have its crime prevention program carried on by a local council, but an effective crime prevention authority needs to be organized on a broad geographical basis which takes account of the sociological unity of life in interdependent communities. We have a regional plan to deal with the physical problems of life; we need also a regional plan to deal with the social needs of which crime prevention is one of the most outstanding.

## Lay Participation in Improving Environment

CHARLES E. HENDRY

*Associate Professor of Sociology  
George Williams College, Chicago*

**I**N reading Kenneth Beam's preliminary report on community organization efforts to prevent delinquency, I was gratified at his conclusion that coordination was being conceived of in an increasingly broader frame of reference than the term "delinquency prevention" suggests. It is to be hoped that some of the more important implications growing out of this particular finding may be deliberately clarified. Far too much credit has been claimed by many agencies for the reduction of delinquency in given areas to warrant professional sanction. Particularly has this been true of our so-called character-building agencies. So far as I know, no reputable student of community life would risk his professional reputation by asserting that any one factor, such as adequate recreation or adequate income or adequate housing, for example, can be held responsible for a moderation in the incidence of delinquency. As Shaw, Shulman, and Thrasher have demonstrated beyond question, delinquency is a natural process arising in a total complex of disorganization. The mere addition of new resources, physical or personal, has not measurably affected the situation. The basic assumption underlying the thinking of this conference is, it seems to me, that a possible solution of the problem lies, not in the direction of new agencies and programs, but in some realignment of the forces already operative and the reorganization of the community situation through a process of voluntary and

vital coordination and redefinition of the community's life. Although we may be justified in making that assumption of common agreement, I doubt very much that we have achieved a consensus of judgment concerning many other basic principles and techniques of community organization. And this lack of agreement is more evident in our conception of the role of the lay person in the process than at any other point.

Community organization, particularly neighborhood or local community organization as contrasted with community chests, councils of social agencies, and certain large public welfare structures, is what one might almost call a lost art. Before technological progress and the growth of our great cities banished the neighborhood from our midst, before the phenomena of specialization produced our almost pathological reliance upon the expert and permitted community consciousness to sink into a lethargy of irresponsible indifference, community organization took care of itself. If it was an art it left no record of its techniques, no blue prints to guide us now. The community has changed beyond recognition. The urgency of the problem, its sudden and wide recognition throughout the country, and the apparent spotty character of successful demonstrations of local effort, point unmistakably to the need for a new type of expert, a social integrator. The more intimately and realistically one examines this whole problem the more convinced one becomes that a new function is upon us; that community organization is a highly technical procedure and that early and more specialized provision needs to be made to recruit and train a corps of carefully selected persons on a professional level. I personally believe that community organization is a function coordinate in every way with such other basic social functions as education, recreation, and social work. I have purposely emphasized

the technical, and therefore the professional, nature of community organization, because I do not want anyone to carry away the impression that it is possible for citizens' groups generally, even in our most stable communities, to carry forward the functions of study, planning, clearing, and coordinating, all of which are involved in community organization, apart from the constant assistance of a competent technician in community, as contrasted with agency, leadership. Mr. Beam, I note, states in his report, that a field worker on part or full time seems essential to effective organization.

### *Basic Principles in Community Organization*

Before describing two radically different procedures in relation to lay participation I wish to set down several underlying principles or basic assumptions. Having outlined these principles, I shall indicate, in the form of a series of contrasting characteristics, ten elements in the various patterns of community organization that have developed.

The following principles are set down to serve primarily as a springboard for critical and creative group discussion—a few basic propositions which may become, after significant refinement, a foundation of common understanding among persons engaged in local community organization.

By community organization is meant the mobilization of all the social forces in an area to maintain certain essential functions and to meet clearly defined needs—making and maintaining homes, getting a living, keeping healthy, securing an education, using leisure, caring for the handicapped, regulating communal affairs, participating in religious practices. Traditionally, community organization has been defined much more narrowly by social

workers, for example in terms of coordination within one functional sphere, with the result that there are vertical organizations of professional workers reaching out from the local community to national associations. This has had the inevitable result of somewhat isolating one functional group from another, even to the point where within a federation of social agencies, except for executives, there is little mingling across specialized fields.

A second principle is that community organization must not only cut across *agency* lines, but across *functional* fields. This means that in approaching the task of community organization, whether through the informal method of face to face contact, or the more formal procedure of a community council, key persons in each of the eight functional categories need to be included, the politician as well as the librarian, the employer as well as the school principal, the policeman as well as the priest, to say nothing of parents and representatives of youth.

There follows from this principle a third, namely that organization must enlist those persons, groups, and institutions where actual authority and control rests. In certain areas this clearly implies recognizing and including in any scheme of organization those persons who control policy in the major industries, the actual as opposed to the mere formal leaders of nationality groups, and persons often overlooked because they may lack institutional connections.

A logical development of this third principle suggests the fourth, that community organization must often include persons whose behavior is unconventional in relation to generally accepted social definition, if such persons wield substantial influence with the residents. A local bar keeper or gang leader may be such a person, and in some instances he may make more impact on the be-

havior of sections of the population than the social agencies or the churches.

Thus community organization *must be adapted to the peculiar conditions of each local area*, and in areas of marked social disorganization, it is essential to cultivate local leaders and potential leaders, not by developing formal committee machinery at the outset, but by face-to-face techniques after the manner of the politician, dealing with certain persons privately, with others in the company of one person or in congenial combinations. Special consideration should be given, in view of the preponderance of foreign-born parents and the conflicts between nationalities in certain areas, to the necessity of dealing with the younger element of the population, while not by any means ignoring the first generation group.

Experience has demonstrated that serious obstacles to the achievement of integration are encountered when the field worker supplies equipment, promotes activities, and directs an independent staff. Great caution, therefore, needs to be exercised, and in the beginning even an office probably should be avoided.

### *Organization Patterns*

In examining a variety of developments in local community organization in Chicago it appears that certain characteristics stand out rather prominently and form themselves into what might almost be termed *patterns of organization*. The following is a list of some of these characteristics set down in a series of contrasts. Others no doubt will appear as more careful analysis is made.

1. The enterprise and organization may be based upon local consensus and participation, or derived and imported from outside the community.
2. The undertaking may be spontaneous, natural, and informal, or strained, artificial, and formal.

3. Professional persons, or lay persons and local residents may dominate the project.
4. Participation in the organization may be a matter of appointment or of election.
5. Provision may be made for paid executive leadership or reliance may be entirely upon voluntary direction.
6. The enterprise may include service and planning organizations on the one hand, and pressure and propaganda groups on the other hand.
7. The organization may be a completely independent local unit, or it may sustain some connection with other city-wide organizations.
8. It may be delimited in its purposes and functions, restricted to one type of problem, or comprehensive in the scope of its activity.
9. Community needs may be deliberately discovered, vitally recognized and may be made the basis for specific units of work, or a rather general, vague, and indefinite feeling about conditions may result in futile discussion and indecisive, random activity.
10. The activities of the organization may be restricted to clearance and cooperative planning, or expanded to include program administration, budget review and distribution of funds.

Two patterns, if not philosophies, of community organization emerge from this analysis, and from each flows a set of identifying practices. One emphasizes *structure*, the other, *consensus*. One *imposes* itself, attempts to graft itself on to the life of a community, the other *exposes* itself to the vital forces at work, and attempts to become identified and drafted, as it were, into the community's service. One seeks to *impress* the community, the other to *express* the community. One would be an influence, the other an instrument.

### *Chicago Experiments*

For two years I have watched a series of efforts in Chicago to reorganize the life of certain communities. These efforts represent varying degrees and combinations

of these factors we have outlined. Of one thing I am sure, there is no one scheme that can be trotted out from a downtown office, handed to a local community, and made to work. Mr. Beam has well said that the corpses of councils lying around, some of them still unburied, are ample evidence that community organization is not something which can be promoted and imposed from without. Community organization is a process, a growth—a growth which receives its life from the soil of community participation and sanction. The type of enthusiasm that would “plunk down” a community council in every local community, set a time schedule against which progress might be checked, and squeeze out of every seeming advance in the construction of the scaffolding (for that is all the council structure really is) all the publicity the traffic will stand, smacks more of evangelism or salesmanship than it does of engineering and social strategy.

In some areas where disorganization has not set in to any great extent but where planning is needed to head it off, structure, that is council machinery, may be developed rather early in the process. Having achieved a sensing of the situation and a common set of purposes, a broad representative group of citizens and leaders may proceed to organization of a more formal character. I think of one such situation in Chicago. About one year was spent in the formal stages of conversation, community cultivation, and preliminary planning. By the time of the organization meeting, over one hundred agencies, organizations, and institutions were represented by appointed delegates. At a subsequent meeting a plan of organization was approved calling for a central policy board of officers and standing committee chairmen. The committees functioned for research and study, for finances, and for six program units: physical and economic planning, physical and mental health, formal and

informal education, recreation, social welfare, and civic and governmental planning.

To indicate the nature of citizen participation I might describe briefly the work of one of these committees, the committee on recreation. On the committee both public and private agencies are represented. It includes the manager of a local theater, the local police captain, the director of a museum, several teachers, and several local recreation workers. This committee planned a rather comprehensive recreation survey of the area and appointed ten subcommittees for the purpose, utilizing local students and key citizens for each. In all about sixty persons shared in the actual making of the study, which consisted of eleven major parts.

1. A vacant lot survey was made. Approximately one hundred students shared in this phase of the study, each assuming responsibility for two blocks and reporting in detail on uniform cards. Having transferred these data to maps, a committee of local leaders and business men visited each of the vacant lots and made an evaluation of its possible recreational use, and formulated a proposal for reconditioning.

2. One subcommittee collected all the available studies which had to do with the life of the area, read them through and summarized their major findings and implications for a program of community reorganization.

3. Uniform information was gathered on each of one hundred organizations, agencies, and institutions doing recreational work in the area. Photographs were taken of each agency, and these, with typewritten descriptions, were assembled in a large 200-page looseleaf reference book. Mimeographed summaries are being made for distribution throughout the community.

4. Spot maps were prepared of the membership in ten representative agencies of different types. The as-

sistance of W.P.A. draftsmen made this and other specialized phases of the survey possible.

5. An elaborate questionnaire calculated to uncover the interests and needs of children and youth in relation to their leisure time was distributed to the schools in the area, and administered to a sampling of children living in certain selected blocks. These questionnaires have been analyzed and will be made the basis for recommendations and adjustments in programs.

6. Inventories of recreational resources and maps graphically portraying these resources have been developed so that it is possible to know at a glance how many swimming pools, gymnasias, auditoriums, etc., are available, where they are located and the conditions under which they can be secured.

7. A careful study of youth and its participation in the tavern life of the area was made, and the report was transmitted to the proper authority charged with responsibility for regulating such operations.

8. A special study was made of accidents involving persons eighteen years of age and under. The maps prepared as a result of this investigation are being examined in relation to available recreational resources, vacant lots, and the whole question of supervision.

9. A student working on a master's thesis was encouraged to undertake a detailed study of all of the high school graduates with residences in the community who had belonged to the graduating classes of June, 1935 and January, 1936. The purpose was to discover the employment or unemployment status of these graduates, to study their problems, and develop a local program for their guidance.

10. A particularly important service was rendered by a committee which inquired into the use of a piece of property occupying an entire city block which lacked ade-

quate supervision. A study was made of the situation and recommendations were developed and transmitted to the owner of the property. There seems good reason to expect an adjustment in the handling of this playground area.

11. As a tangible demonstration that the community council was really active in serving the recreational life of the community, a large community play day celebration has been planned for the first week in June when it is hoped that one thousand children ten to fifteen years of age will participate in the field-day program.

In other areas of our cities where disorganization has set in, and where such factors as poverty, substandard housing, mobility, congestion, inadequacy of recreational resources, family conflict, lack of adequate parental supervision, tolerance and active promotion of crime and delinquency, lack of confidence in and respect for the agents and agencies of law enforcement, all operate to break up the community into factions and to let down normal social controls, the approach must be quite different.

I should like to quote briefly from an address given two winters ago by a representative of the Shaw Area Project which presents rather forcefully another point of view:

The underlying philosophy of Dr. Shaw is that we must capitalize the existing cultural forces in the community regardless of how they stand in regard to our own life patterns. . . .

In its basic effort to utilize the natural organization of the community, the Area Project has contacted important gangs, clubs, political organizations and the like. We believe that these organizations offer fundamental life satisfaction to their participants. Why bring in outside leadership? A trained college man bent on helping these people solve their life problems will meet with difficulty. The indigenous leader can do a much better job and a much quicker job. The out-

standing personalities in the deteriorated areas are gamblers, prostitutes, pimps, and other leaders of the disorganizing process. The Area Project has attempted to identify itself so well with the community life that these strategic personalities can be formed into neighborhood councils. These neighborhood councils are made up of very significant persons in the neighborhood regardless of what their "profession" may be. A deliberate attempt has been made to exclude agency persons, ministers, and the like, who would be apt to inhibit free response from the members of the neighborhood council.

The trained sociologist makes no effort to influence the action of this neighborhood group; however, a concentrated effort is made to capitalize the insight that these neighborhood persons have. These strategic persons are not conscious of the role they play in community life. They have prestige value in terms of community life that they do not recognize. It is the belief of the sponsors of the Area Project that these strategic personalities are doing a great deal to influence and mold the life of the children in those communities. The ideal of the Area Project is to make these strategic persons conscious of the role they are playing. We have proof that the whole community is eager to have its youth brought up in a fine way. None of the gamblers in the community want their sons to be gamblers; none of the prostitutes want their daughters to be prostitutes; we have found this assumption to be entirely correct. We have also discovered through our regular neighborhood councils that gamblers have more concern for community problems than do ministers, because the ministers have a fine theology that they must put over before they dare talk about community problems, and if the theology is sold well enough, the community problems will solve themselves.

### *Dangers Threatening Success*

It would seem to me in reviewing many of the attempts which have been made in the field of community organization that two dangers are involved. One is the danger that we may ignore the agencies and institutions which have their roots deep in the community's life. The other is that we may ignore the people, the residents, the common folk who live in the community. Somehow we

must strike a happy balance and seek to unite the professional and the lay elements, recognizing a mutuality of interest, a common set of relationships, a common array of problems, and in the last analysis a common set of resources.

Several summers ago I had occasion to hear an illuminating talk by a famous physiologist who cares for bees as his hobby. He told us at that time that when a queen bee dies it is necessary to send for a new one. The new queen arrives in a small wooden container in a central chamber overlaid with netting. The container is addressed, stamped, and sent through the mail. From either end of the wooden receptacle a hole has been bored and filled with beeswax. If the queen bee, upon her arrival, were allowed to go directly into the hive she would be pounced upon and killed immediately. Each hive seems to have an odor which identifies its members to one another. If a bee from one hive were soaked in the blood of bees from another hive it would be treated as an alien, as an enemy, it would be pounced on and exterminated by its own brothers. In transferring the queen bee, therefore, into a new hive, the whole container is placed in the hive, and a most interesting procedure may be observed. The bees in the hive begin to eat their way through the beeswax into the central chamber where the queen bee is located. At the same time the queen bee begins to eat her way out. In the process the queen bee and the bees in the hive seem to take on a third scent or odor so that when they finally emerge and meet one another, there is recognition. They have become assimilated, accepted mutually in the process.

This is a homely illustration, but I know of nothing which more clearly demonstrates the necessity of gradualness, the necessity of identifying oneself with the life of a community if one is to be effective as an organizer.

Community organization is a subtle process in which the person or group that would be instrumental in achieving a new type of integration must eat its way in to the memories, the aspirations, the traditions, the very life of the people. This takes time; it is something akin to friendship on a community scale. It cannot be ballyhooed, promoted, pushed; it demands restraint, respect, and a readiness to become identified vitally with the life of the people. It is not too late to learn the wisdom of making haste slowly.

## The Organization of Social Work by Neighborhoods<sup>1</sup>

ARTHUR ALDEN GUILD

*Director of the Community Fund of Richmond, Virginia*

THE organization of social work, to be effective, should be based upon carefully worked out plans after an inventory has been made of the social problems and resources of each neighborhood in the community. During these times of central finance it is necessary for us to take into consideration the social needs of each neighborhood and the community as a whole, when planning a social work program for any single section. However, before work on a plan is commenced, the desired objectives must be defined. The organization of social work in a community is a useless procedure unless the plan of organization is sold to the community. For example, it would be useless to prepare for a community a plan of social work which included a psychiatric clinic, unless financial support were provided for it and the local social workers were conscious of the need for and the value of such a clinic in their work.

An effective plan for the organization of social work in a community should provide a means for measuring progress toward or retrogression from its objectives. It should also provide for machinery to put the plan into operation and continue its development. I believe the objectives of a plan for social work should be creation of the happiest possible community, and reduction to the lowest possible minimum of antisocial behavior, disease, ignorance, and the bad effects of poverty. It is my hope

1. Paper given at the National Conference of Social Work, 1936.

that social work may in time, through bringing about an understanding of the causes of social problems, reduce poverty, but I have very little faith in the effectiveness of social work in any one community. To achieve our objectives, we must know the social problems of our community, their nature, their extent, their location, their significance, and their relationship to each other. For example, if we are to reduce tuberculosis in a community, we should know the extent of tuberculosis; we should know also where the cases are located; we should know the conditions in each neighborhood which cause or tend to cause tuberculosis. Housing conditions, amount of poverty, medical facilities available to the people living in the district, are a few of the things we should know.

Time does not here permit a tabulation of all the facts to be known in determining the best possible social work plan for any community. However, I should like to name a few such facts as the population of each neighborhood by age, sex, race, nationality; the economic status of the people; the morbidity and mortality rates; the adult and juvenile delinquency rates. We should know also the equipment and personnel in the community available for treating these problems. An inventory of social problems and resources should be made at least annually so that the people of the community may know whether or not the means used toward the achievement of the objectives are proving effective. Ultimately, morbidity, mortality, and crime rates should be kept in such ways that this information will be available from day to day. Summarized rates from a year to a year and a half after the deaths, sicknesses, and crimes have taken place are valuable, but such delayed information does not give us a means of comparison so that we may measure day by day and month by month the effectiveness of our methods in bringing about the desired results. Delayed information

lacks dramatic and emotional appeal. It is my opinion that inventory material concerning the lives, illnesses, deaths, delinquencies of human beings has much publicity and educational value, but only when released frequently and currently is it conceivable that people may become as interested in noting day by day the number of deaths from tuberculosis, for instance, as they would be in looking at the casualty lists in war time.

The inventory should also be made in such a manner that the greatest number of people in the community will participate in making it. People are most vitally interested in things in which they participate. They give most willingly to social work activities which are closest to their realm of consciousness and which seem real and important to them.

The most effective way of developing an interest in and public support for social work is to increase the general community knowledge of social problems and agencies. Education is most readily assimilated by the average adult through actual participation. He is perhaps not unlike the child who learns more easily by the project method. Therefore representatives of many organizations or social forces should be invited to work together on a sponsoring committee for the study of community social problems and resources.

*Religious forces:* ministerial associations, missionary societies, councils of church women, young people's societies, various denominational groups.

*Social and health agencies:* public and private agencies.

*Civic and fraternal organizations:* service clubs, Junior Leagues, women's clubs, lodges; societies with social and health interests.

*Educational forces:* public and private schools, local colleges, schools of social work, education associations, teachers' associations, college clubs, university women's associations, outstanding educators generally.

*Legal forces:* bar associations, prominent lawyers, court officials, judges.

*Medical forces:* medical and psychiatric associations, dental associations, nurses' associations, health officers, doctors, psychologists and psychiatrists.

*Governmental forces:* public departments of federal, state, county, township and city governments.

*Media of communication:* newspapers, radio stations, magazines, church bulletins, house organs, trade journals.

✓ Care should be taken that all national and racial groups are represented on the sponsoring committee.

The sponsoring committee should meet only as often as necessary during the inventory period. Its work during this time should be carried on through an executive committee composed of the chairmen and secretaries of the subdivisions of the study. The executive committee should be responsible for the detailed work of the study and should report to the sponsoring committee as frequently as matters of large general policy arise. On this executive committee all the major forces of the community should be represented.

The membership of the sponsoring committee should be divided into the following subcommittees: general information; public health and medical work; informal education and recreation; family relief and case work; dependent children; crime and delinquency; homeless and non-residents; financial support of social and health work, public and private.

The subcommittees should organize with a chairman and a secretary and proceed to gather the facts on the questionnaires in their respective fields. In some instances, information will be gathered by one subcommittee and used by other subcommittees. For instance, the subcommittee on family relief and case work will gather information on illness among dependent families which will be used by the public health and medical subcommittee. Sometimes joint meetings of one or more subcommittees will be helpful.

After the data have been gathered it is my opinion that tabulations by elementary school or neighborhood districts should be made. The tabulation and presentation of facts regarding social problems, their extent and significance, by school districts, offers many advantages. People are likely to be interested in the school district where they themselves attended school or where they now live. Parents are nearly always interested in the school which their children attend or have attended; a mother would naturally be interested in the crime rate for the local school district. Tabulating social data by school districts, in other words, has a tendency to develop a social consciousness and a sense of social responsibility in the people living in the various school districts.

Other advantages of this method of tabulating by school districts are:

1. It provides a body of comparative figures and facts interesting to neighborhood groups, and arouses a natural speculation as to the causes of the conditions and the differences.

2. It provides a means of discovering the extent to which social problems of the school districts of the city are being met.

3. It provides a means of measuring the adequacy or the inadequacy of social work facilities by districts. It serves as a measure of services, a rod which, though quantitative in approach, leads almost inevitably to speculation regarding the quality of services rendered in relation to the needs, thus indirectly promoting greater efficiency on the part of the agencies.

4. It provides a means of comparing social and health trends by districts, tends to develop competition between districts to reduce crime, sickness, and other social disorders.

5. It makes possible the development of a more effective program to meet specific needs of different neighborhoods.

6. It makes possible the selection of units for comparative experimental work in social agencies.

7. It provides a means of developing neighborhood pride in improving social conditions.

8. When the attention of the people is attracted to the social problems of their school districts, they tend to become interested in building the school of the future to meet the social needs of the community.

When the tabulations of all the questionnaires have been finished, and comparisons of problems, facilities, and activities made, the findings and recommendations of each subcommittee should be reported to the sponsoring committee for consideration.

The sponsoring committee should be prepared to work over the data until they have been thoroughly analyzed and understood. General conclusions should then be arrived at and measures taken for carrying out the recommendations. The people of the community should

be fully informed regarding all the problems discovered, their nature, extent, significance, and their exact location in the community. This is of the greatest importance as social conditions will improve only to the degree that people are informed and made to feel a lively concern about the social welfare of the community.

Committees consisting of all the professional and lay leaders living in or working in the various school districts should be organized to study all the material and to work out plans for dealing with the social and health problems of each district. So that comparisons of conditions in the various school districts may be brought to the attention of the people, facts regarding all the districts of the city should be presented to the committee of each district. Interest will be thus increased because people generally like to compare conditions in which they are involved with similar conditions involving other people. The joint study and interpretation of the material, the working out of plans together, will lead to a better understanding of social work and to a better support of needed activities.

Organizing social forces by neighborhoods and school districts is not a particularly new idea. Los Angeles in its coordinating councils adopted high school districts for the organization of its social forces to reduce crime in that city. The more than ninety coordinating councils in California have been organized on a neighborhood basis. Berkeley, organized in 1919, was the first. Some of the twenty-one coordinating and district councils of Michigan have adopted the junior high school district as their unit of organization. Nine district councils have been developed in Detroit. Portland, Oregon, has eight neighborhood councils; Washington, D. C., has five district councils; Chicago has ten neighborhood councils, the first of which was organized in 1918 in the Stock Yards district.

Pittsburgh has four district councils with three to eight neighborhood councils in each district; Richmond, Virginia; Durham, North Carolina; Dayton, Ohio; Nashville, Tennessee; New York City, and many other cities also have neighborhood and district councils.

*may be  
page 2  
concerns*

The following organizations and social forces are among those usually represented in these coordinating neighborhood or district councils: courts, schools, police departments, churches, libraries, parent-teacher associations, women's clubs, service clubs, American Legion posts and auxiliaries, trade and labor councils, chambers of commerce, newspapers, psychiatric groups, medical groups, and social agencies.

Although up to the present time most of the coordinating councils, neighborhood councils, district councils, or school district forms of organization have not planned their social service programs on the basis of social inventories, it is claimed they have accomplished wonderful results in dealing with juvenile delinquency and other antisocial conditions. An excellent start has been made toward the gathering of social statistics by districts. Approximately thirty-eight cities are now taking social inventories of some of their problems by census tracts.

*Summarize*

To sum up this paper, it is my belief that to efficiently organize social work in a community by neighborhoods, we should first define the objectives we wish to achieve; second, take an inventory of the social problems and resources by school districts or neighborhoods; third, prepare a plan to meet the needs of the various school districts or neighborhoods in the light of the total needs of the community and the funds potentially available; fourth, provide machinery for interpreting our social needs and securing public support for this plan; fifth, organize the social service activities, private and public, of the whole community in the most effective way possible.

Last but not least, we should develop research machinery to take regular social inventories and to measure our progress toward our objectives. We should also develop coordinating and selling machinery to carry out over a long period of time a developing and progressive plan to care for our human problems, to interpret social problems, and to sell the necessary services.

Social work engineering is my name for this process of organizing the social work of a community.

## Community Factors in Delinquency Prevention

LOUISE MCGUIRE

*Director of Social Work,*

*Juvenile Court, District of Columbia*

THE first two paragraphs of that very useful pamphlet, *Coordinating Community Resources for Youth*, issued by the Office of Education, Department of the Interior, give us a dramatic, if not altogether total picture. I quote:

"1929: Paging Youth! Jobs are calling. This way to the nearest factory, office, shop. Schools, colleges, pouring out two and a quarter million new recruits. Jobs plentiful, employers on the look out, the way ahead seems smooth sailing.

"1935: Paging Jobs! Youth is calling. Schools, colleges continue to pour out their millions, but factories, offices, shops are closed to them. The scramble is in reverse—Youth is in search of jobs. The world they have prepared for greets them with a *Not Wanted* sign.

"Since 1929 more than 12,000,000 have left school—a population greater than that of Canada and as large as the total population of the Scandinavian peninsula."

This statement would tend to indicate that times were very good in 1929 and that no great problems existed so far as youth was concerned, that the depression is responsible for all of the woes facing us today. True, the depression has intensified and magnified these woes, but basically the problems confronting the community remain the same. In 1929 a sizable number of the young (and old, too) were involuntarily out of jobs. Insufficient

earnings constituted the same burning question then as now. Numbers of youngsters then as now dropped out of school for various and complex reasons. Other numbers were chronic truants; juvenile courts and boys' courts were (and still are) filled with juvenile delinquents; prisons were (and are) crowded, and the tax payers are still continuing to spend thousands of dollars at the wrong end.

Of all but the first mentioned no one knows whether there has been an increase or decrease. The problems remain the same because the basic factors underlying our social structure—indeed organic in it—remain the same. Recognition of them must be faced in any discussion of community factors as they relate to juvenile delinquency, its treatment and its prevention.

Fundamentally these factors can be reduced to three: inequality, competition, individualism.

### *The Basic Factor of Inequality*

Persons are unequal in their inherited tendencies and in their developed capacities, through favoring or unfavoring circumstances, through accident or untoward condition. Mere matters of stature, of physique, of family background are potent elements in one's life. Let us consider the location of one's home. Almost without exception the disadvantaged groups in any city are in the least desirable and most socially destructive neighborhoods. This is a fact because each city is a conglomerate of social units, each unit circulating in its own orbit and blissfully unconcerned about all others. Every city is made up of four types of persons: Those who have no knowledge of the social problems of their city; those who know vaguely, but have no correct information as to extent or implications; those who know, but do not know

what to do about the situation; those (few in number) who know and know what to do. Social workers by virtue of constant and continuous study have an obligation to be a part of this group.

Thus we have isolation of classes, each alien to the others in knowledge, habit, feeling, and aspiration. The comfortable and upper income groups know nothing at *first hand* of the struggles and degradation of those living in alleys, beside the gas tanks and in similar undesirable places.

To the advantaged, the disadvantaged are anonymous. Dickens knew the true significance of this when he wrote *Hard Times*.

For the first time in her life, Lousia had come into one of the dwellings of the Coketown hands; for the first time in her life, she was face to face with anything like individuality in connection with them. She knew of their existence by hundreds and by thousands. She knew what results in work a given number of them would produce in a given space of time. She knew them in crowds passing to and fro from their nests like ants or beetles. But she knew from her reading infinitely more of the ways of toiling insects than of these toiling men and women.

Something to be worked so much and paid so much, and there ended; something to be infallibly settled by laws of supply and demand; something that blundered against those laws and floundered into difficulty; something that was a little pinched when wheat was dear and overate itself when wheat was cheap; something that increased at such a rate of percentage, and yielded such another percentage of time, and such another percentage of pauperism; something wholesale, of which vast fortunes were made; something that occasionally rose like a sea and did some harm and waste (chiefly to itself) and fell again; this she knew the Coketown hands to be. But she had scarcely thought more of separating them into units than of separating the sea itself into its component drops.

. . . the chemist and druggist showed that those who did not drink took opium, and the jail chaplain showed that they resorted to low haunts, then the two named could show that

these same people were a bad lot altogether, gentlemen; that, do what you would for them, they were never thankful, gentlemen; that they were restless, gentlemen; that they never knew what they wanted; that they lived upon the best, and bought fresh butter, and insisted on Mocha coffee, and rejected all but prime parts of meat, and yet were eternally dissatisfied and unmanageable.

Just what significance attaches to inequalities of environment is extremely difficult of analysis, because flowers bloom in the most unfavorable spots, and so long as one wholesome citizen emerges from a particularly vicious locality, no sweeping statement can be made that environment alone is responsible for all the ills.

On the other hand significance does attach to the fact that all ecological studies show a startling concentration of destructive elements. Juvenile delinquency runs high in localities showing a high rate of adult crime. Witness the Cleveland studies, the Richmond maps and those of Washington, D. C., all of which give scholarly analyses of pertinent data. In every instance these same localities show a dearth of cultural and socially constructive forces which reinforce the individual. It is also significant that the youngster's philosophies and values reflect the customs and cultural patterns of the neighborhood. His values are molded by what he sees, hears and experiences. If these experiences are sordid the results generally are warped personality, antisocial behavior, distorted and false values. Contra, generally wholesome surroundings manipulated by intelligent parents, teachers and others with whom the child comes in contact, reflect themselves in creative, adequate youngsters.

Thus social relations greatly strengthen or greatly weaken the individual as the case may be. Certain it is that no one lives unto himself alone. His social relations are fundamental and enduring. Social reinforcement by

family ties, by friendship, good reputation, credit and the consciousness that one has the esteem of others makes one strong indeed. Those without such reinforcement are weak indeed. To quote Dr. William J. Kerby: "The hope of not disappointing those in whose good opinion we place our aims and our honor is a foundation stone in all sturdy character."<sup>1</sup>

Certainly the youngster was not a criminal at birth. The human material is molded by personal experiences. Whatever antisocial behavior manifests itself usually develops in early life and during adolescence, and the life patterns become pretty well fixed early in years. Our emphasis should be directed accordingly.

We are told by one of the early philosophers that we all are born with certain fundamental drives: *to be; to have; to create; to belong*. Thomas calls these drives the "four wishes": the wish for security; the wish for response; the wish for recognition, and the wish for new experience.

These, when reasonably well molded, developed, balanced and intelligently directed, produce fairly adequate human beings, helpful to themselves and to the community. Conversely, when ill-directed or uncorrected by constructive forces either within or without the confines of the particular neighborhood, any or all of these inherent drives develop varying degrees of difficulties spelling disaster alike for the individual and the community.

You will recall, no doubt, the very exhaustive study, sponsored by the Payne Fund, regarding the effect of movies upon children.<sup>2</sup> Among the devices used were certain elaborate reaction tests. The results of these tests indicated that movies depicting gangsters and other un-

1. Kerby, Wm. Joseph, *Social Mission of Charity* (New York: Macmillan, 1921).

2. Payne Fund Studies, *Motion Pictures and Youth*, 9V., (New York: Macmillan, 1933).

desirable characters made little impression on children in better neighborhoods, but among children in poor neighborhoods, a marked reaction followed. Is it too venturesome to suggest that the difference between the two groups was not attributable to the movies, but to the every day experiences of each youngster in his or her own bailiwick? The youngsters in each instance were simply sticking to the average way of living in their respective neighborhoods. For example, in one section of Washington not far from the juvenile court, a woman, walking out of her house under arrest, accompanied by one or even two officers causes no more excitement for the children in that section than a woman in exclusive Chevy Chase walking out of her home to go to her favorite bridge club causes the children of her neighborhood.

And so, all forms of strength—wealth, education, leisure, healthful surroundings, privacy, possibilities for development, status, articulateness—are banded together. On the other hand, all forms of weakness—poverty, crowded quarters, poor housing, insecurity of income, lack of wholesome example, and lack of wholesome recreational facilities—combine to defeat acceptable standards of living for great masses of persons in every large city.

### *The Basic Factor of Competition*

Unequal persons are compelled to compete at every step: in school, on the playground, in the settlements, for a place in the community, for a living. When the severity of the struggle is unrelieved by state action or by the cultural forces in the community, the outcome is inevitable; the strong win and the weak lose. I would not have you believe that all difficulty comes from factors outside the individual. We all know persons who have had education, gentle and cultured home training, but

who for complex reasons are not much good to themselves nor to anyone else. This group is small, however, as compared to the great group who have little or no control over the forces that sweep them along.

Competition must be analyzed from two angles: the effect at close range, and the more remote, impersonal aspects, if you will. Children within any neighborhood fall into three or four categories:

1. The self-reliant well-rounded youngsters with certain leadership abilities, with reasonably good intellect. They are usually in the Boy Scouts, settlement boys' clubs, school and church activities.
2. Those whose behavior ranks them as "socially unaccountable," on account of temper tantrums, stealing, lying, and similar antisocial activities.
3. The bad personality reaction group characterized by seclusiveness, timidity, over-sensitiveness, cowardliness, unpopularity, boastfulness, bullying, etc.
4. Those who show problems in habit formation such as sleeping and eating difficulties, enuresis, masturbation.

Of course these groups are not clear cut; there is much over-lapping. These children of the neighborhood at different ages all frequent the same neighborhood playground, social settlement or boys' club as the case may be. *What happens?* The first mentioned group, namely the more adequate, unconsciously gain the attention and interest of those in charge, quickly attain status in the club, and, with it a sort of vested right and privilege to use the equipment and space on all occasions and to the exclusion of those who have the greater need. Every head of a community house realizes too well the truth of this statement. One of the greatest problems of those in charge is to make the staff give attention to, and have a

real interest in, the unpopular, unwanted, personally unattractive, non-conforming youngster.

These difficult, troublesome youngsters are on the doorstep of every settlement. They belong to gangs who probably have visited the settlement a few times, but who have not become a part of the place and, not having status, feel out of place and so drop out. But they still remain a menace in the neighborhood. They belong to *gangs* instead of *clubs*. It is an axiom that one must "belong" and be a part of something bigger than one's self.

This condition will endure until the settlements recognize that the work of getting acquainted with every difficult youngster outside the institution and finding a place for him in the scheme of things according to his bent is as important as the work that goes on inside the institution, indeed more so. And this cannot be a spasmodic job. It is not enough just to provide supervised free play. The youngster must be made a part of some definite whole. The place that symbols occupy in athletics, in sororities, in fraternities and clubs, demonstrates this point. There must also be some romance regarding the name of the club—something that catches the imagination of the boy or girl.

Now to consider the wider aspect of competition. Antiquity gives us the adage: "Nothing is so unjust as to treat unequals equal." The implications of this wider competition among unequals is apparent in the regulations and routine of school systems. The school curriculum with its demands for "home work" is the same for the youngster who has a room to himself, a comfortable, convenient place to study and intelligent parents who have both the time and inclination to identify themselves with the school, as for the one whose privacy consists of one-fourth of a bed in the kitchen and who is

indeed lucky if he has a place of any kind in which to keep his belongings. Likely as not, he together with the other members of the household live a communistic life sharing their few rooms with two or three other families. More often than not, his mother is away from the home working to supplement the income and he has little or no supervision regarding his home work or anything else.

It is preposterous to expect the same grade of work from the one group as from the other without a corresponding adjustment in the school system itself. One high school in Washington is trying the experiment of prolonging the school day one hour in order to give the pupils a chance to do their "home work" in the school. The school is a high school, located in one of the good residential sections of the District, and the experiment was requested by the parents through their parent-teacher club. Parent-teacher organizations have done much to acquaint the parent with the school, its aims, its problems and its teachers—but who belongs? Not the inarticulate, ignorant parent of the poorer district whose child is irregular in attendance or a truant from school. These parents and these children know the school only through the attendance officer. The conversation in the home runs, "When Tony gets to be sixteen and we don't have to have Miss Jones, the attendance officer, snooping around."

From the point of view of juvenile delinquency, the attitude of these families toward the police is even more revealing. Policemen are for the protection of all, but the children in the poorer neighborhoods know nothing of the law from the standpoint of protection. They know it only in conflict. They learn early to avoid the police, or, what is vastly more devastating, youngsters scarcely out of the toddling age learn an astuteness and sophistication when being interrogated by the police out

of all proportion to their years. A few weeks ago a little ten year old girl was brought to the Women's Police Bureau in Washington. Her father was in the state penitentiary, her mother was wanted by the police for forging relief checks. The girl when questioned as to the whereabouts of her mother looked perfectly blank and stated in an even voice that she had not seen her mother for a long time. She had been seen with her mother the day before. Later when an aunt, representing herself to be the child's mother, called at the Women's Bureau, the youngster quickly and with the expression of a poker player followed the cue. When the officer said: "But Gertie, this is not your mother," the child responded, "Well, she has been a second mother to me." The child was removed to the inner office where she could see but not hear. A man implicated in the situation was brought in. Later, on being asked to identify the man and having no inkling as to what the man had told, with a curious puzzled look on her face the girl evaded by saying, "I could not see him very well." This terrifying canniness is seemingly a routine part of the education of every child in certain "bad land" sections of every large city.

#### *The Basic Factor of Individualism*

The factors of inequality and competition are rendered more acute by the fact that we live in a country whose philosophy is essentially and traditionally individualistic. The state has always looked to the home, to the church, to the school and to the other cultural forces in the community to equalize the chances of the unequal. When these forces break down (as they are bound to do under an urban economy) the state steps in, in the form of social legislation of one kind or another, and assumes a larger or smaller proportion of the burden. Just what proportion is assumed by tax-supported agencies and what

is left to private initiative depends upon many and complex factors. Suffice it to say that whatever the proportion, there must be honest and wholehearted coordination and cooperation between the two in any program of social and economic welfare which includes a constructive plan for the prevention of juvenile delinquency. Planned social economy and not agency boundaries must obtain. Provincialism is as reprehensible in a social agency as it is in a state or county. It can have no place in the thinking of social workers.

What can be done? What can social work contribute in the plan of things? I shall attempt no exhaustive list. Four observations seem to me fundamental and sufficiently broad:

1. Social workers, by virtue of their three-fold knowledge—knowledge of the human material with which they deal, its drives, its aims, its motives, its latent capacities, its achievements and its frustrations; knowledge of the cultural forces and the destructive forces of the community, and rather thorough-going knowledge of the fundamental social, economic and political structure and forces of our country—must of necessity be the leaders in constructive planning.

Constant study as to the intensity of the problem in any one location is necessary. We must learn to *look for the unit of measurement in any problem and then to count the units*. It is of no great benefit to know that there are 50,000 arrests in a given city or that 3,000 delinquent children pass in review before the court of that city. We must know *where* in our city these persons live—especially what destructive forces are operating to cause this condition of things and what forces can be rallied to that particular area to eradicate the undesirable factors.

Recently the magnates of all leading railroads sat in

conference. These railroads carried thousands of passengers during the year, but the whole time and attention of these shrewd skilled business men were centered on what it cost a railroad to carry *one* passenger *one* mile—something like one-eighth of a cent. All discussion centered around this one-eighth of a cent.

2. Each city should have two or three private agencies willing and able to break down their agency traditions, liquidate and reorganize themselves to meet new needs as these arise. *We have enough agencies.* What is really vital is that these organizations be more flexible, and that there be wholehearted willingness on the part of the personnel to courageously turn aside from customary and traditional grooves to undertake wholly new and, if need be, less romantic services. Such a course is arduous—may indeed be irksome. It is assuredly more difficult than continuing on over known ground, but if the compensation is better distribution of vital services to those who need the services, that assurance is sufficient.

3. Neighborhood or community councils have great potentiality as devices not only to prevent delinquency, but to combat all the other ills of a particular neighborhood. They can be a positive force in securing benefits which will enrich the lives of every person in the section. However, if these councils are to function at their highest level there must be a closer knit organization of all cultural groups within the area. Such councils must include police, school teachers and principals, health officers and private physicians, business and civic organizations, the clergy of all denominations in the particular area. All must be active participants. Social workers, nurses and other professional persons, by reason of their first-hand information should acquaint the council members as to volume, kind, and gravity of various problems, but the ultimate solution rests usually with the men and

women who live and work in the particular vicinity. Unless there is constant vigilance there is danger that the council may be dominated by one group or that terminology becomes technical, etc. These situations are fatal to real usefulness.

4. We must discard our traditional theory regarding rights of youngsters who voluntarily drop out of school because they are not interested in the present system. We are in the vicious and stupid habit of thinking in terms of only one alternative for this group—if the child is not in school he must be at work. *The fact is there just aren't jobs to go around. Furthermore there won't be.*

We must liberalize the school system to fit the child. Pretty much all these years we have been making the youngster do the "fitting." In nearly every community there is a dearth of well set up vocational schools. In addition to these there should be regional occupational schools for industrial arts. These schools should be differentiated from the vocational training schools. Regional occupational schools should be activity centers for all age groups up to twenty-five. The program should be widely varied and adult education methods used, that is, young people should be allowed choice of work depending upon interest, and the utmost flexibility as to hours and program. A considerable portion of the program could be extra-mural. Every city of fair size offers multiple opportunity, via the study club method and extra-mural organization, for interesting adventure in education through art galleries, museums, governmental offices, libraries, business and social organizations, and so on through an almost inexhaustible list.

Under the present rigid academic curriculum, the youngster who drops out of school pays an undue share for the education of those who continue on through college. He must pay taxes, direct or indirect, for state

colleges and his low wages too often make possible huge gifts to private colleges. In either case he derives no proportionate benefit.

An intelligent plan of informal education through a set-up of industrial art centers, vocational classes, and study club units under adult education would give purpose and richness to life for great numbers of young people who have too long been entirely overlooked and neglected.

In summarizing, let me say that social workers have an inescapable obligation to make possible the attainment in some reasonable measure of those objectives for which they, along with all other persons in the community strive: making a living, making a life and making social life.

The first, making a living, is essentially economic and incidentally takes up the major portion of waking time for nearly everybody. Making a life is essentially personal and spiritual. It implies some time and a few pennies for study, for meditation, and for the building up of inward strength. Making social life implies certain leisure time and freedom from the constant worry of bread and butter in order to take one's place in the community, in school life and in church activities, contributing whatever is in one to contribute to the general weal, whether that contribution is big or little. Thus will the sanctity of the individual be preserved and the community reflect the ideals of our democracy.

## A Community Experiment

HENRY W. WALTZ, JR.

*Chicago Probation Project,*

*Children's Bureau, U. S. Department of Labor*

THE United States Children's Bureau and the School of Social Service Administration of the University of Chicago have been cooperating with local agencies for the past several years in an experimental juvenile probation project conducted in an area approximately one mile square, southeast of the stock yards in Chicago.

Using psychiatric, medical, case work, and community organization services, the project began by accepting for study and treatment children referred to it by the juvenile court, the schools, the police, and parents, as delinquent or in danger of becoming delinquent, or as problems.

A year's case work revealed many factors which seemed to contribute directly to the maladjustment of these children. Foremost in these factors was lack of understanding and cooperation among such community agencies as schools, police, churches, juvenile courts, and social service organizations. Some of these agencies had little regard for the work of the others, and each tended to withdraw to its own program, in which it had more confidence. Plans which one agency made for the treatment of a child were often frustrated by lack of cooperation from the other agencies.

Each agency considered that its primary responsibility to the community was in developing its own program and a technique to handle its case loads. Harassed as each was by its problems of heavy case loads, finances,

organization and changing regulations, each agency felt unable to assume special responsibility for the delinquency problems of the community. For the same reason it failed to interpret its task to the community, and consequently the community failed to understand or to support the agency and often showed active antagonism. Furthermore, special consideration for delinquent children when local resources were so few often appeared to the community like a reward for misconduct. This lack of understanding and support discouraged the agency and caused it to depend more than ever upon its own techniques, so that there was further frustration of plans for the so-called difficult children who were shuttled between different agencies and finally left out in the cold.

In addition to the need for cooperation among agencies there was a need for more group work. This was revealed by individual studies of children and by the fact that playgrounds were empty while swarms of children played on the streets, alleys, vacant lots and dump piles, throwing rocks at lamp posts and at passenger trains, stealing waste and coal from the railroad tracks, building shacks or breaking into vacant buildings for clubroom purposes, and at the same time responding eagerly to any overtures toward supervised play.

Other factors bearing on delinquency, such as economic insecurity and inadequate homes, are too numerous for inclusion.

In trying to deal with the situation the staff of the project worked in two ways: first, by continuing case work with individual children, and second, by developing, or stimulating the community to develop, more adequate resources not only for problem children but for the community as a whole to improve the working relations among existing agencies. This paper deals only with the second phase of the project.

Few attempts were made to develop services directly. Occasionally the project experimented to meet an apparent need that no agency seemed ready to handle. If the experiment succeeded or if the need became apparent to an agency willing to take over the experiment, it was relinquished to that agency.

A day nursery in a neighborhood more than half a mile from a playground wanted to enlarge its program. The project organized some of the children of the neighborhood into teams or clubs and encouraged the nursery to hire workers to supervise their play. The nursery gradually grew into a recreation center and later into a social settlement with a qualified resident director who now takes a leading part in the development of recreation and group work for the community.

The staff of the project began to keep a card file of all children participating in recreation under the supervision of different agencies, and a file of children arrested by the police. When it was found that the two files overlapped very little, the project started activities to appeal to the children who had been arrested, using basements, attics, and vacant stores as meeting places, and adding supplementary programs in established centers. The activities were later turned over to individual agencies or to the community recreation committee.

For the most part the task of developing community resources was approached indirectly, as a probation officer might approach it. The probation officer probably would not build up resources but would point out needs to those who might be in a position to meet them. He would expect the established agencies already at work to take responsibility for developments in their own fields.

As a beginning, the project called together representatives of several agencies and presented to them specific problems on which each had been working but which none

had been able to solve alone. To meet the need for more recreation or group work, leaders known to be interested in recreation were called together to discuss the problem. They started a baseball league which played on vacant lots. Out of this grew a recreation committee which steadily widened the scope of its activities to include an increasing number of agency directors and more than thirty activities in which more than 3,000 persons participated under trained supervision in eleven centers. The program recently added a training course to be conducted twice a week for sixty WPA recreation workers and for other agency workers who wished to participate. Represented on the recreation committee which planned and directed the work were three Catholic churches, a Methodist church, a Lutheran church, a public school, a parochial school, a parent-teacher association, a public park, a public playground, boy scout and girl scout executives, a private settlement, a Catholic day nursery, a case work agency, and a local merchant.

Because of the deep-seated prejudice many of these agencies had against one another it took several years to get them to work together. At first only two agencies were interested, then four. Others came in for a specific activity and then dropped out. If one institution became too aggressively identified with a certain program, others stayed out of it. But understanding grew gradually and naturally through repeated participation in projects in which each agency was interested but in which no sectarian or partisan group played a dominating role.

Two months ago this recreation committee evaluated the results of its cooperative endeavors as follows:

1. Agencies have gained an insight into the work of other agencies.
2. All agencies now realize the possibilities of recreation.

3. A higher standard of recreation has been developed throughout the area.

4. The attention of each agency has been turned toward a well-rounded program for the area as a whole rather than to its own activities exclusively.

5. More effective community action was made possible through the sharing and pooling of facilities. (For example, a newspaper was made possible by the printing outfit of one agency, the paper of another, the distribution services of a third, and the combined editorial and reporting service of all.)

6. The door was opened to discussion of other community problems, which led to cooperation with increasing numbers of agencies.

7. Adults began to participate and lay leaders began to take interest and responsibility in a community welfare program.

In raising money for common needs the committee's activities progressed from card parties with prizes to a drama night when agencies formerly antagonistic cooperated in putting on one-act plays. No prizes were given for the plays; no one asked which was the best; but all shared alike in a common undertaking, with common feelings of satisfaction.

In distributing a community allocation of \$1,000, representatives from all agencies met together, discussed neighborhood needs, available facilities, and the distribution of the fund to individual agencies in a position to meet community needs. The budget was submitted and approved, and the money was spent to the satisfaction of all concerned. Formerly each agency had submitted its own budget independently and had naturally competed with other agencies to make the most favorable impression on the disbursing authority.

In the same way that the cooperative efforts of agencies and interested citizens to develop recreational facilities led to the formation of a recreation committee, the attempts to cooperate on other community problems led to the formation of a community council. In order to deal with the problems of delinquency a community case committee had been formed. Finding community problems that could not be solved by case conferences, the committee enlarged its personnel to include representatives of all service agencies in the community and interested citizens. The community council so created was elastic in form. Participation was open to anyone who found in the council a way to accomplish measures for community betterment. Committees were formed or dropped as the need appeared or vanished. No committees were kept alive for policy's sake. They did not limit themselves rigidly to their own topics but held open season for any good idea. The best plans often originated in the wrong committees.

One committee has been trying to close the loopholes in delinquency prevention. Through its work agencies are told immediately when a boy is brought to the police station so that they may offer aid in adjusting the case and so that steps may be taken to enrich the life of the boy without his realizing a connection between his arrest and the better program. A fellowship student follows up each child under the care of each agency. He meets regularly with the staff of the community group workers to present to them information on which to base plans for individual children.

Other committees have worked for more adequate relief, for clothing, school supplies, gardens, the National Youth Administration, alley sanitation, repair of buildings, clearance of vacant lots, recreation, publicity, legislation, forums and adult education, and employment.

In preparation for a child welfare conference on integrating the forces of the community to protect and care for children, a police captain, a Catholic priest, a probation officer, a merchant, a park director, a school principal, a public relief superintendent, a private charities superintendent, and an American Legion commander met together for several hours to plan a program showing conditions before and after their cooperative efforts. They reproduced at the conference their discussion on particular problems, which had led to better understanding and specific action for neighborhood improvement.

In cooperative community planning such as this, group work is important. Although group work may not be considered as having the primary responsibility for the solution of delinquency problems, leaders of group work should be able by nature, training, and experience to appreciate and guide the processes of community integration and inter-agency cooperation essential to any delinquency prevention program. In this project group work had not previously been developed enough to play an important part in the treatment of delinquency. Many of the causes of delinquency were found to lie in such conditions as inadequate homes, unemployment, physical handicaps, emotional instability—factors that case workers had been striving earnestly to remedy. Group work, however, seemed to provide an anchor to which a child with a background of failure and frustration might cling for security and achievement during a devastating period of his experience.

## The Coordinating Council at Work

KENYON J. SCUDDER

*Probation Officer, Los Angeles County, California*

**C**RIME and delinquency will never be reduced until the community decides to go into action. Few of the youngsters coming into the juvenile court are vicious, but many of them exhibit criminal tendencies. More than half of them, however, are just ordinary children who find themselves in difficulty.

Social agencies have worked with this group and in a great many instances court action has been necessary. But only a few of these agencies are reaching the children with the greatest need. Many of these young people brought into the juvenile court make a rapid adjustment after being returned to their homes because the resources of the community are used in the adjustment. But these same resources were there before the child got into trouble. If these same facilities are effective after court appearance they certainly should be applied before the damage has been done. Why then do we continue to have such a large number before the juvenile court? The community must do something about it. Who then should be held responsible for a reduction of delinquency and crime? What methods can be used to combat this ever present evil?

If we would keep children out of trouble there must be a coordination of the law enforcement and social resources of the community in the interest of youth. The coordinating council plan offers one means of frequent contact through which the leaders in each community meet frequently with representatives of law enforcement and social agencies. Before gathering in a group they

do not know each other. After the first or second meeting an entirely different attitude develops resulting in a spirit of confidence, cooperation and understanding. Petty jealousies and criticisms are supplanted by a cordial desire to work together. The community forces are at last arrayed for combined action and service, each agency taking part.

Since the beginning of the coordinating council movement in Los Angeles some startling things have happened. During the past three years sixty councils have been formed by the probation department of Los Angeles County and the juvenile court. Approximately fifteen hundred interested citizens and officials are working on the councils in this county. Playground facilities have been developed where they were materially lacking before. Departments and agencies have been drawn closer together with cooperation replacing friction. *The community has begun to accept its responsibility.*

The original councils followed very closely the Berkeley plan organized fifteen years ago by August Vollmer, which gave attention to individual children who were developing behavior problems leading them to delinquency. The Los Angeles councils have three committees, the adjustment committee, the character building committee and the environment committee.

The adjustment committees are composed of the local chief of police, the school, welfare, health and probation departments, and the case working agencies.

Thousands of children are just on the ragged edge of trouble. Too often none of us do anything about it until it is too late. The adjustment committee now refers these cases to the agencies best equipped to handle them. They at least *try* to do something first. If the case is too serious the probation department and the juvenile court will take it off their hands.

A case may be referred to the adjustment committee in some such way as this:

*The Boy in Danger*

Things were rather dull that morning at police sub-station No. 10 when the phone rang. The desk sergeant switched the call to the captain. "This party won't talk to anyone but you, Sir. He's got a grouch."

The voice on the wire was full of honest indignation.

"Captain, can't you help me? I have called everybody else and they all say they can do nothing."

"What's the trouble?" inquired the captain.

"Well," the voice continued, "there's a boy in our neighborhood who is headed for trouble. He's not a bad kid, but unless something is done he soon will be."

"Are his parents unable to handle him?" asked the officer.

"That's just it. They don't seem to understand the lad, or perhaps they don't care. They allow him to be out at all hours, he's running around with a gang and doesn't seem to be interested in things other boys enjoy. I have two sons of my own and we are very fond of this young fellow and don't want to see him get into trouble."

"What about school?"

"Well, there you are again. I called the school and they said his grades and conduct were satisfactory and they could do nothing. The county probation office couldn't handle the case because he hadn't done anything, and they referred me to you. I appreciate their position, *but does a kid have to break into jail before the community will give him a lift?* They said something about a coordinating council and that you would know what to do. He has been picked up on suspicion once or twice

by your officers and so they know him. I don't want to harm the lad by reporting him, but he needs help and attention right now. If I can help you work out something call on me."

After a short pause the captain said, "Let me have his address and tell me a little more about the case." And so the first steps were taken.

### *Other Committee Work*

Police station records reveal hundreds of children just on the verge of trouble. Unfortunately, the police have been unable to do much about it. New calls coming in constantly draw their attention. Unless these children are picked up again for a more serious offense the cases are forgotten. Many of these borderline behavior cases are known to every agency in the community. Too often none of us do anything until after they reach the court. A study of 14,000 juvenile court cases has shown that 71 per cent make a satisfactory adjustment and do not appear again in the juvenile court. Perhaps therein lies a tragedy, for if these cases can be adjusted through court action how much easier it should be to make these adjustments earlier in the school and the home.

The voice on the phone wanted help, but that voice alone could not rally forces in the community to protect this lad. Each agency, having its limitations, stopped when it reached the border, and yet they all have much in common. Each deals with the same human material and one cannot do effective work without the help of the other.

The character-building committee in Los Angeles is composed of representatives of the Boy Scouts, the Y.M.C.A., the Camp Fire Girls, the Girl Scouts, the churches, schools, libraries and playgrounds. They try

to find the children who do not belong and get them into clubs and organized groups under trained leadership. It is natural for youth to organize into gangs. A Boy Scout troop is a gang, a High Y group is a gang, but these are organized gangs under properly trained leadership. A gang of delinquents is organized but it lacks constructive leadership and elevating purpose. Destructive gangs can be diverted into fields of usefulness and good citizenship, and this is the work of the character building committee.

The environment committee is composed of representatives of civic organizations, the parent-teachers' association, service clubs and women's clubs. Their responsibility is to improve the environment of the community and of the individual homes and to create more wholesome influences surrounding children.

Any one of the sixty coordinating councils in Los Angeles County could have been selected to illustrate the success of the council plan, but we have selected the Echo Park Council because it faced a peculiar community problem calling for coordination and cooperation of all agencies in that area. One section of this district has a large foreign population. It has long been neglected by both public and private agencies. The rate of delinquency was rapidly rising at the time the council began its work and many children were being brought into the juvenile court. Gangs ran rampant through the streets and the police were constantly being called to quell destructive groups. What was wrong with this district? Why were these children in trouble? Did the community have any responsibility for this situation?

The environment committee conducted an intensive sociological survey of this area under the direction of Dr. Walter Hertzog of California Christian College. Poor homes, poverty, low standards of family life, a discouraged adult population, these and many other factors

were revealed. There were no playgrounds in one large section and children were forced into the streets.

An old church was discovered in the center of the blackest area of delinquency, a church which for seven years had stood with closed doors. It had failed to adapt its program to the needs of the community. A luncheon meeting was held in the old church. Service and women's clubs, the city council and the board of supervisors were represented as well as the police, the juvenile court and the probation department. Plaster hung from the walls, the floor creaked, many windows were broken, but the place had promise.

Responsibility was quickly fixed. Rotary would take the main auditorium and make it into a gymnasium and basket ball court. Kiwanis would take the back room and put in a craft shop and shower baths. The Exchange Club would fit up the two room shack on the back of the lot for the Cub Packs and the Pioneers. The women's clubs would fit up the old parsonage next door for the girls' group where they could meet and entertain their friends. The community went into action and by the old "barn raising" plan of the early pioneers soon had the place in shape.

### *Butch Baker's Gang*

One group known as Butch Baker's Gang had caused a great deal of trouble. They raided the picture shows, dodged the cops and raised considerable disturbance. One day Butch was taken in by the police. Then for several months he was out of the district. In the meantime the old church had been remodeled, painted and put into shape, and the gang had become interested in wholesome play. Butch came back looking for his gang.

Imagine that we are on Sunset Boulevard in Los An-

geles just a block away from the Community House. Butch is calling to one of his pals.

Butch: Jimmy! Oh, Jimmy! Howdy, kid!

Jimmy: Hello, Butch. Where've you been keepin' yourself? I ain't seen ya for a month of Sundays.

Butch: Aw, me old man got a job down at San Pedro an' we went there to live. But we've come back again now. How's all de old gang?

Jimmy: Oh, dey're swell.

Butch: I ain't seen none of them on de street since I come back.

Jimmy: Where're ya goin' now?

Butch: No place.

Jimmy: Den come along wid me and see de bunch.

Butch: All right. Where're ya goin'?

Jimmy: To de Community House.

Butch: Community House? W'at's dat?

Jimmy: Oh, a kind o' club house. Ye remember dat old church down on dis side o' de street?

Butch: Where we used to smash de windows?

Jimmy: Well, dat's de place.

Butch: In de church! Jumpin' Jupiter, d'ye mean to say de old gang's turned religious?

Jimmy: Aw, dere ain't no religion about it. A bunch of guys fixed dat church up as a sort of club house for us kids.

Butch: An' don't ye never run around de streets an' raise rough house no more?

Jimmy: W'at's de use? It's a lot more fun in here. Dis is de place. Come on in.

[Sounds of laughter and confusion are heard.]

Butch: W'at're dey playin', Jimmy?

Jimmy: Basket ball. It's lots of fun. [Shouting]  
Good boy, Alfonso, dat's a goal! Hey, fellers, look who's here!

Alfonso: Hello, Butch. Where've you been?

Garcia: Why, Butch, you old sardine!

Tony: If it ain't old Butch Baker himself! Howdy, Butch!

Butch: Hello, fellers.

Tony: Want to join in de game, Butch?

Butch: Naw, I t'ink I'll go wid Jimmy.

Tony: All right. Come on den, fellers. Let's go. See ye later, Butch.

[Butch finds he is losing his hold on the gang. Instead of worshipping at his feet, his followers say, "See you later, Butch." That is a new one. Sounds of the game fade out and are followed by hammering and sawing.]

Jimmy: Dis is de work shop. Now I ask ya, ain't it a beaut? . . . Hello, fellers. See who I picked up on de street.

Crowd: Butch Baker! Well, you old son-of-a-gun! Hello, stranger! Howdy, old man!

Butch: Hello, fellers.

Jimmy: Now you make yourself at home, Butch. I want to get to work.

Butch: But I don't understand. Are you fellers paid fer workin' here?

Jimmy: Naw! We're workin' fer ourselves an' we can make anyt'ing we wants and keep it. See de work benches and all de swell tools. Ain't it a snap?

Butch: Wa't're you makin'?

Jimmy: A dog house for me new pup.

Butch: Where d'ya get de lumber?

Jimmy: We scavenger around de alleys an' vacant lots and find old boxes an' t'ings. Den we brings dem here and makes swell t'ings out of 'em. See dat kid? He's makin' a scooter fer himself. Purty swell job, ain't it?

Butch: Yeah. Gee, I t'ink I'd kinda like to do dis work meself.

Jimmy: Sure ya would. But say, I got to get goin' cause I want to finish dis dog house tonight. Tomorrow night's de Boy Scout meetin' an' I won't be able to work in here.

Butch: Boy Scout! Ye mean to say ye're a Boy Scout now?

Jimmy: Bet yer life I am, an' we have swell times, too. I'll get ya in if ya wan't to join. We're goin' out campin' this summer for a whole week. Won't dat be great?

[Dixon comes in.]

Dixon: Good evening, Jimmy. Who's your friend?

Jimmy: Oh, good evening, Mr. Dixon. Dis is Butch Baker.

Dixon: Well, Butch, I'm glad to meet you.

Butch: Thanks. Pleased to meet ya, too.

Dixon: Now, I know Jimmy wants to work and so if you wish, Butch, I'll show you around the place.

Jimmy: Go ahead, Butch. Mr. Dixon's a regular guy. You'll like him.

Butch: Aw, Jimmy,—er—all right.

Dixon: Did you see the boys playing basket ball?

Butch: Yeah. We saw dem when I first come in. Say, how do dey play dat game?

[The sound of hammering fades out and is replaced by the confusion of the game.]

Dixon: Well, you see, there are two teams. One tries to put the ball through the net at this end of the hall, and the other team tries to prevent this and to put it through the net at the other end. We have some very exciting games here. I think you'd enjoy playing.

Butch: Well, not tonight.

[A piano starts playing in the distance.]

Butch: What's de music I hear?

Dixon: Oh, that's over next door in the girls' club house. They're having a dance to-night. Do you like to dance, Butch?

Butch: Yeah, sometimes. But I t'ink I'd radder play basket ball or maybe make somet'n' in de shop.

Dixon: Well, you can always do just what you want to around here.

Butch: Say, what does a guy haf to do to join dis here Community House?

Dixon: You don't have to join. It's all here for you to use whenever you want to.

Butch: An' don't it cost not'ing?

Dixon: Certainly not. Everything's free.

Butch: Dat's pretty swell. No wonder I don't see the gang on the streets no more. Say, I t'ink I'm kinda glad I moved back into dis neighborhood.

This little dialogue reflects what actually took place. Sunset Center has met with astonishing success. Gangs no longer race the streets. The old church fills a great need in that community. Instead of running with street gangs and dodging cops 5000 boys are now in attendance at the center every thirty days. The old church has been born again. It still has a mission to fulfill.

The environment committee of the coordinating council called upon the local clubs and organizations to make this possible. It was a great job, a splendid example of what can be done when the agencies in the community get together. But who will carry this on?

The Los Angeles Kiwanis Club has taken over the complete sponsorship of Sunset Center, pays the salary of a full time director and meets the overhead expenses of this project. The Friday Morning Club is looking after the girls' groups. The sixty coordinating

councils of Los Angeles County are accomplishing great things.

Delinquency and crime will never be reduced until the community goes into action. More than half the youngsters in juvenile court are just ordinary children. These council groups bring together public officials, private agencies and interested citizens in a combined effort *to make the community a better place in which to live.* Under such a program crime and delinquency must eventually be pushed out of the picture.

## Town and Village Councils<sup>1</sup>

LEONARD W. MAYO

*Assistant Director,*

*Welfare Council, New York City*

**D**URING the last few months there has been an increased interest in the Los Angeles coordinating councils for the prevention of delinquency, and a number of small councils of the same or a similar type have been established. As a matter of fact we appear to be in the midst of a council movement, accompanied, I believe, by pretty general confusion as to what the coordinating councils of Los Angeles are and how they differ, if at all, from other community councils. There is danger that a movement of this type may stimulate so much popular enthusiasm and propaganda that it will be widely applied before it has been thoroughly studied and analyzed. I propose in this paper to describe the organization and functioning of a village council in the town of Hastings-on-Hudson, New York, and at the same time to attempt to clarify the relationship between the coordinating councils of Los Angeles and other aspects of the council movement.

The village of Hastings-on-Hudson, New York, awoke on the morning of December 25, 1934, to learn of a Christmas Eve tragedy. By noon families gathered for a day of festivity discussed it in whispers out of hearing of their children. Reporters, photographers and county police conferred with town officials. By nightfall children of seven and eight who lived on Washington Avenue had learned the sordid details and crowded outside the door of No. 91, wide-eyed with excitement.

1. Paper given at the session of the Big Brother and Big Sister Federation, National Conference of Social Work, 1936.

The events of the next week were typical of the manner in which an average American community meets these situations. Some insisted that the whole affair be kept under cover, and shuddered at the thought of "washing dirty linen in public." A few urged that investigation go forward no matter where the chips fell. And true to form, the majority were indifferent, lethargic, uninterested.

The editor of the local newspaper, however, consistently demanded a thorough-going study of the tragedy itself and the surrounding circumstances, and finally, it began to dawn upon the more thoughtful that this death of a twelve year old child at the hands of a playmate was not an isolated event. The affair began to shape up as something which had a beginning, a history, a sordid and unlovely history strangely out of harmony with the beauty and quiet of a suburban community. It was clearer then why the little girl half mad with rage, according to her confession, had struck down the child who threatened to "squeal" about the sex play in which they were both involved. It was not so clear, however, why the community had allowed the man to be at large who had introduced these and other girls to perverted sex practices, and why tenements were tolerated which allowed little individual privacy and necessitated the use of one toilet by the children and adults of three families.

Gradually the community began to realize that the death of this child was in reality the culmination of certain tangible forces. The inevitable results of wretched housing, inadequate supervision, lack of recreation facilities, poor physical and emotional health and careless police administration, began to reveal themselves. There was a stir for a time, discussion, suggestions, the beginning of a plan—and then the community settled back. The commuters went to town in the morning and came

home at night to their firesides. Bridge clubs met to while away the evenings. The Women's Club pondered upon what it could do to improve the village. The Rotarians heard a speaker discuss international affairs. The Taxpayers' Association made plans for reduction of the tax rate and the residents of River View Manor, admiring the sunset over the Palisades, took care not to let their eyes fall on No. 91 Washington Avenue.

Fortunately, however, it can be recorded that a few citizens actually centered their attention on that section of town and the problem it presented. Among these were the editor of the local paper, the school superintendent and high school principal, an attorney, the three or four other men and women who met regularly to discuss the possibility of some responsible community committee. The children's court judge of Westchester County spoke at the Rotary Club concerning the need for direct action in Hastings. A woman, long active in the family life of the town, proposed a community study which was finally made possible through a public appropriation. The superintendent of the school and the executive secretary of the Big Brother and Big Sister Federation planned and conducted a study of delinquent traits among school children, and the Westchester County Council of Social Agencies assisted in pulling all these movements together. From these beginnings the idea of a community service council developed, and the election of a mayor who was actively interested brought the plan to fruition.

In the summer of 1935 the council was formally organized with the same status as the zoning commission and similar official bodies. The purposes of the council as announced to the public were: to study the needs of the town in health, family and child life, relief and housing; to determine whether these needs were being met by

existing local or county agencies, and to plan insofar as possible for whatever *unmet* needs were revealed. The divisions organized as a part of the council were family and child welfare, health, housing, public relief, parks and recreation and later a division on adult education. The mayor selected a chairman for the council and for each of the divisions, asking the latter to nominate their own working committees.

To see more clearly the relationship between this council and other similar movements, it is well to review the history of councils briefly in order "to look back as we move ahead." In 1874 the National Conference of Social Work was organized (then the National Conference of Charities and Corrections) for the discussion and evaluation of social practice and theory. This was one of the first moves on the part of the professional group in the direction of central planning. During the decade from 1877 to 1887, Buffalo, Boston, Philadelphia, New Haven, New York and other cities founded "Charity Organization Societies" designed to prevent duplication and develop city-wide plans for social welfare. In 1905 and the succeeding years came the establishment of a number of national organizations for the grouping of agencies having similar functions. The National Probation Association was founded in 1907; the Family Welfare Association in 1911; the Big Brother and Big Sister Federation in 1917, and the Child Welfare League of America in 1920. The purpose of these was primarily to raise standards of service and develop broad policies relating to objectives and operation on a national scale. The year 1920 saw the grouping or federation of agencies with different functions but with the common denominator of religious faith, such as the Catholic Charities, the Jewish Federation, and some years later the Protestant federations. From 1908 to 1920 the modern

council of social agencies was taking root in Denver, St. Louis, Cincinnati, Pittsburgh, Milwaukee and other cities, and as recently as 1929 two new developments took place which had a more direct bearing on town and village councils, the Los Angeles Coordinating Councils for the Prevention of Delinquency, and the neighborhood, regional and geographical councils now being developed in some of the larger cities.

There are fundamental differences between these, for the Los Angeles plan began with an emphasis on the problem of delinquency per se, although for the last three years it has had a much broader and more inclusive program. These councils include the school, the church, various lay groups in the community and some of the social work agencies. The regional or neighborhood councils have for the most part been founded under the leadership of social workers familiar with community organization and many of them have originated as part of a well laid plan of a central council of social agencies. They usually operate on a geographical but nonfunctional basis and, of course, proceed on the philosophy that as the problems of delinquency cannot be separated from other problems of the community, the approach must be inclusive. While the regional councils may bring in the school, the church and other groups as a necessary part of community planning and action, the leadership is definitely in professional social work hands. This is of particular importance if the council is to engage in any direct service as is sometimes the case. The community service council of Hastings approximates the regional council plan adapted to a situation or setting similar to that occupied by the coordinating councils in Los Angeles. That is to say, in serving a community of some 7,000 the Hastings council recognizing that delinquency is part and parcel of the total community situation, functions

under volunteer, trained leadership and employs a small staff to carry on a few direct services.

It is probable that the whole council movement has its roots in many of our traditions and mores as well as in the coordinating efforts of professional social work. The almost forgotten "town meeting" of the New England variety, the civic councils which followed it, and the innate communal feeling in most of us to plan and work together toward some common end, have also contributed.

A brief description of how the council actually works in Hastings may serve as a helpful illustration. Here is a suburban town of some 7,000, nearly 1,000 of whom are commuters "taking their working halves to the city and bringing their relaxed halves home," a fact which raises problems in gaining the interest and participation of citizens. When the council was formally organized under the divisions of family and child welfare, health, recreation, relief, housing, and adult education, and after the chairman of each division had nominated lay citizens to serve as committee members, each division held a meeting to plan its program in accordance with the general goals of the council as adopted in its first meeting.

The family and child welfare division agreed to make every effort for the treatment of problem children. Partially as a result of this interest, and motivated by its own interest as well as the Big Brother and Big Sister study, the school organized a guidance council or committee to work on special behavior problems. The division planned further to give attention to public dance halls, pool rooms and alleged instances of organized prostitution. The sociological study of the town made shortly after the child's death was reviewed and a partial program worked out on that basis. These conditions all represent knotty, fundamental and age-old problems

which do not lend themselves readily to change but require constant, consistent thought and long time planning. This division agreed to act as a clearing house for family and children's problems and to persuade service groups in town to pool their plans in order to prevent duplication. The division is still struggling with this basic aspect of community organization.

The health division planned to give most of its attention to children's diseases and the annual epidemics of measles, scarlet fever and common colds. To this end the active cooperation of the county health authorities was sought and gained; adherence to quarantine laws was strengthened, the relation of housing to incidence of disease was studied on a small scale, and a better working relation between village nurse, attendance officer and county medical authorities was established. By no means of least importance were the successful efforts of this division in working out an improved plan of transportation from Hastings to the county health center.

The main activity of the council this first year centered around the recreation division. For several years the town has had a small public appropriation for recreational purposes, and in cooperation with the school has conducted a program through faithful volunteer leaders and a paid summer director. This year, under impetus of the council, a total recreation item of \$3,000 was placed in the public budget, and additional monies were furnished by the mayor for a year-round director and assistant. During the fall, winter and spring, activities were conducted including clubs, hiking, winter sports, dramatics, gymnasium classes and athletics. These groups occupied from 250 to 300 children and young people each day from 3:30 in the afternoon to 11:00 at night. The school cooperated in furnishing space as did one of the volunteer fire companies and the owner of an abandoned

store. With the onset of summer the play and leisure time activities will be largely out-of-doors on one well equipped and two or three improvised playgrounds in different sections of the town. All during the winter, tournaments of various kinds, active, well-supervised clubs, and a skating rink built on flooded tennis courts and enjoyed by literally hundreds of children as well as adults, gave more than full value to the taxpayer for his recreation dollar.

The relief division of the council took on the difficult but necessary task of coordinating private and public relief activities in the town with the county organization. Those who know emergency relief know the intricacies of this problem, but progress was noted in both the quality of service to Hastings clients and the working relationships between local and county authorities.

The housing division tackled a job recognized nationally as one of the knottiest in the welfare field. The committee has conferred with county, state and private housing organizations, studied state housing laws and local ordinances, and is still working out in some detail a reasonable local housing program on a long time basis.

The committee assigned addressed itself with vigor and thoroughness to the job of studying adult education programs. An experienced man in this field was employed on a part time basis and volunteer leadership was secured for an ambitious and remarkably successful program. This included a two months' school of adult education with some ten classes, covering subject matter ranging all the way from child guidance to contract bridge, and attended by over one hundred adults.

With a year of experience behind it and a volunteer chairman who has a national reputation in community organization, the council faced the problem a month ago of setting up the budget for next year. After some dis-

cussion it was decided to submit a budget of slightly over \$7,000 to carry the present program and enlarge it to the extent of employing a full-time girls' worker in addition to the other two recreational leaders. Of this amount, \$6,000 was designated for recreation, group leadership and facilities for children and young people, and the remaining \$1,000 was marked for the development of the adult education program.

The total budget for the town as presented by the board of trustees was slightly in excess of \$197,000 and when the Taxpayers' Association saw the \$7,000 item for the Community Council, a cry rent the air that echoed against the Palisades across the river. This opposition gave the council an opportunity and taught it a lesson. The opportunity was to interpret and bring the work of the council out in the open; the lesson it taught was that more interpretation during the year and a wider participation on the part of citizens, might have resulted in a more general acceptance of the proposed budget. As it was there was a good fight, two public hearings, plenty of oratory, the emerging of clear-cut issues by which the community had to choose between children and roads, child welfare and fire apparatus, recreation and an increased tax rate.

The results were further conferences between taxpayers and the board of trustees and between the trustees and the council; a final decision to reduce the budget of \$7,000 to approximately \$5,900; a lot of public education on the needs and purposes of a community service council, and last but not least, the determination on the part of the council members to play a wiser community game during the coming year in terms of education and participation.

My own brief experience and the history of the council movement leads me to set down the following general

principles with regard to the organization and administration of town and village councils. These are, I believe, tested principles of community organization adapted to a small community.

1. A council cannot be organized out of thin air. The idea must take root in the minds of many individuals and groups and be nurtured by the care and skill of those experienced in community organization.

2. The *minute details* of any one village council cannot be copied in organizing another. Localities, people, needs and facilities differ. Principles remain constant but their application varies.

3. Foremost among these principles is the necessity for trained social work leadership and community-wide participation of lay groups.

4. The business of a town or village council is not alone the prevention of delinquency. Its concern must be with the general health and economic aspects of community life, and every policy should be predicated on this principle.

5. Ordinarily a council should not give direct services to the community, but when this is done it should be on a temporary basis until some organization or group has been found to take the service over.

6. One cannot expect to remake the town in six months. The highways of community organization are strewn with the bones of those who failed to remember that divine discontent must always be tempered with patience and implemented with skills.

7. Before the village council plan is pushed further by any one national organization such as the Big Brother and Big Sister Federation, the National Probation Association, the Los Angeles group or others, a conference of these organizations together

with specialists in the field of community organization is indicated for the purpose of clarification, evaluation and determination of auspices.

I have pointed out here that the council plan is rooted both in our desire for communal action, formerly satisfied to some extent by town meetings and other civic assemblies, and in the well directed efforts of professional social work to coordinate and plan on a community-wide basis. I have said that we might find in the town and village council the opportunity for a guided and directed expression of the innate desire to serve our fellow humans. We shall agree, I believe, that the town and village council movement, if guided and directed wisely, has a still greater mission. That is to say, if America is to emerge on a higher level of social and economic life, if she is to work out her salvation within the framework of a democracy, avoiding the pitfalls of an American brand of fascism, we must find some reasonable and workable method of community action and learn to use again the all too rusty tools of democracy. In states, counties and small towns we need to learn the facts of social and economic problems, face them and participate in communal groups which seek to solve them. If we believe that our destiny is to be worked out in some such manner as this, community councils may well be a practical step in this direction.

# Community Coordination for Prevention of Delinquency

REPORT OF A NATIONAL SURVEY

KENNETH S. BEAM

*Special Field Agent, National Probation Association*

**I**N selecting coordinating, community, or neighborhood councils for this survey we have included those councils which bring together representatives of public and private agencies and citizens' groups (or some combination of these three) for the purpose of conducting studies and improving the influences shaping the lives of children and youth. Most of these councils have delinquency prevention as one of their objectives. Some do not state this as a specific objective, but their programs are so much like the others that they were included. Community councils interested primarily in civic improvement have not been included in this survey.

This information was obtained through field visits and correspondence between December 1, 1935 and July 1, 1936. The report does not pretend to be exhaustive, but includes some information about the majority of such community groups. Additional information regarding organizations of this type is desired. A preliminary report of this survey was sent in May to all councils listed at that time. Corrections have been incorporated in this final report.

This survey revealed that councils of the type described are functioning in 163 cities and towns in 20 states. The total number of councils runs well over 250. Nine of the larger cities, exclusive of New York and Chicago, have a total of 84 councils. Los Angeles alone has

21. California has the largest number for any one state, 110 councils in 81 cities and towns.

Before 1935, councils were organized in 95 cities and towns in 12 states. During 1935 new councils were organized in 43 cities and towns, bringing up the total of represented states to 19. During the first six months of 1936 new councils were organized in 26 cities and towns, all but one of these in the states previously listed.

### *Characteristics of Councils*

*Location, meetings, officers* The councils in this survey are scattered from Bellingham, Washington (twenty miles from the Canadian border) to Durham, North Carolina, and from San Diego, California to New Haven, Connecticut. They are found in communities of all sizes, from a village of 500 people up to our largest cities—New York, Chicago, and Philadelphia. Attendance at meetings ranges from five or six people to a hundred or more. In frequency the meetings vary from weekly, as in Berkeley, California, to quarterly, as in Madison, New Jersey. Most councils meet as a whole once each month, with committee meetings more frequently. Most of them have three officers: a chairman, a vice-chairman, and a secretary. These three, with committee chairmen, frequently constitute an executive committee.

*Origin of councils* These councils have not been promoted by any national organization. They have sprung up from a great variety of backgrounds because of a local conviction that to accomplish anything in delinquency prevention, the community will have to mobilize all its resources in a united program. The causes of delinquency have been found to be too varied and too complicated to be attacked successfully by any one group working alone. This same conviction seems to have

struck many different centers at approximately the same time. Sometimes someone heard of such a plan operating in some nearby or distant city. This individual then got all the information available and a local group began to adapt it to local needs. The coordinating council plan as worked out in California has apparently been used more widely than any other. However, the complete independence of different communities is evident even in the variety of names they have chosen.

*Membership* The membership of these councils does not vary so much as one might suppose. Over one hundred of those studied include representatives from public departments (schools, police, probation, recreation, welfare, health, libraries, etc.), private agencies doing both group work and case work, churches, and citizens' organizations such as the service clubs, women's clubs, parent-teacher associations. Great difference appears in the strength of representation from these various groups. Some will have strong representation of public officials but will be weak in other respects. Some will have many private agencies represented, but few officials and citizens. Some may have a citizens' group with few of the others. Eleven councils are composed of representatives of citizens' organizations and private agencies without any officials. Ten councils include officials and private agencies without any citizen members, while one council includes officials as individual members only.

*Expense involved; use of federal projects* Do these councils require a budget and do they go through the throes of a financial campaign each year? No. The great majority have no budget and no treasurer. Some of them pass the hat occasionally for postage and stationery. A few ask member organizations to subscribe one dollar per year. Some have raised money by dances or entertainments for some specific purpose such as send-

ing a group of children to camp. Two councils at least have considerable money to handle. The Stock Yards Council in Chicago receives over \$5000 a year from the packing houses, while the Community Service Council at Hastings-on-Hudson, New York, had this year \$6000 from tax funds. The expense of sponsoring such councils throughout an entire county or large city will be considered later.

Many councils have benefited by federal projects under CWA, ERA, WPA and NYA, and have accomplished results during the last three years which they could not have accomplished otherwise without the expenditure of a great deal of money. This has been particularly true in the states of California and Washington, and in Pittsburgh, Richmond, Washington, D. C., New York, and probably a number of other cities.

*Principles, purposes and objectives* The principles, purposes, and objectives of community councils are diverse but for the most part they have the same purpose in mind. There is one main point of difference, but even this is more theoretical than real. Some feel that the prevention of delinquency should be *stated* as the principal objective of such a community organization. Others feel that the objective should be the welfare of all the children and youth of the community. Those in the latter group realize that in carrying out such a program they will be working to prevent delinquency, but they prefer not to have that fact emphasized. Here are a few statements of purposes or objectives selected as samples:

"To stimulate neighborhood concern for the welfare of its children, and to strengthen its organized efforts in this direction." (Portland, Oregon)

"To conduct studies, surveys, and conferences in order to discover the individual children, groups of chil-

dren, and areas needing attention by private and public agencies; to stimulate the local community through representatives of civic organizations to face their responsibility for community conditions affecting the lives of children, and to work with the officials and social workers to make the community a better place in which to live." (Los Angeles)

"Concentration of responsibility for a local delinquency area; utilization of services and cooperation of all preventive agencies; extension of the program to all children, groups as well as individuals; changing of community conditions; education of the public; creation of new agencies, if necessary." (New York, Lower West Side Council of Social Agencies)

*Committees* There is as great diversity in committees in these councils as in names and statements of objectives. Some councils, especially in small towns, have no committees but do all their work in one general meeting. Others have many committees, sometimes with subcommittees. In southern California and in some other sections three committees are found: adjustment, for the referral of individual cases; character building, for the extension of group activities; and environment, for improving the surroundings in both the home and the community. Other committees include: survey or research, recreation, community calendar, health, religious education, vocational guidance, parent education, motion pictures, and employment (for youth).

*Problems* As a part of this survey each council was asked to state its most serious problems. The most common are lack of recreation facilities, and the seeming impossibility of securing needed service for children. Phrases like these describe the need: inadequate provision for leisure time of youth; no recreation facilities for girls; no indoor facilities during the winter; no large

auditorium; no community center; school playgrounds not kept open after 3:00 P.M.; opposition of borough council to plans for additional recreational facilities; insufficient character building groups, particularly in areas with a high rate of delinquency.

Problems of leadership and administration came next, stated briefly by council representatives as: the difficulty of securing good committee chairmen; the need of volunteers with sufficient time to carry out plans; the difficulty of knowing what to do, and of finding any one with time to do it; the need of long-time leadership, people who will stay by this work over a period of years. "What can you do with a leader who is seeking personal advantage and is using the council to promote his own interest?" asks one group. "How can we maintain the initial interest over a long period of time?" inquires another. A third states, "our main problem is to decide just what our job really is." Still another finds that, "our problem is to control development, so that it does not get out of hand."

Another problem is lack of cooperation on the part of certain public departments, private agencies, religious groups, or civic organizations. In a number of communities one or more important agencies are not represented on the councils, chiefly because the executive has not been sold on the idea or does not know what it is all about. In some cases the problem seems to be general apathy and lack of interest. In others the problem is "to get the members to unite their efforts instead of seeking individual glory."

Other problems have to do with undesirable motion pictures, salacious literature, slot machines, the sale of liquor and cigarettes to minors. Several councils face a race problem involving Negro and white groups. In one district a swimming pool had to be closed because the

tension was so great. In several instances the chief problem is created by the peculiarities of the district itself, such as shifting population, a heavy percentage on relief, a cheap boarding house district. Home conditions, family relations, and the neighborhood environment were, of course, mentioned as constituting serious problems.

### *What Do These Councils Accomplish?*

One of the first questions asked when this work is described to a new group is: "Just what do these councils accomplish? The plan sounds very logical and this type of work is tremendously important, but does the scheme *actually work*? Do these councils get results?"

This question was put to council after council in personal interviews and by letter. As a result we received reports, minutes, bulletins, booklets, and statements in such quantity that it is difficult to condense the material to the available space. We can indicate only the variety of accomplishments reported, without giving credit to the different communities. These achievements are largely outside of California as the work in that state has been described in other reports. They have not been verified, but are presented as reported.

When results are claimed usually some agency within the council has done the work, the council serving as a medium to reveal the need, make the plan, and back up the agency selected to carry the plan into effect. A council seldom carries out a project under its own name.

*Sociological studies* Practically all councils report more or less elaborate studies made before they decided on their program. These studies have covered chiefly delinquency areas and constructive resources; some have included destructive influences as well. Perhaps the surveys made in Oakland and Los Angeles, California; Richmond, Virginia; Detroit, Michigan; Washington, D. C.,

and New York's lower west side have been the most thorough. Surveys of all institutions in a given district have been made to discover the services available. The usual reaction of the councils when these surveys are presented is that they have work for many years to come if they are to meet the needs revealed.

*Education of the public* One surprising revelation of this survey is the number of councils reporting the influence of their work on the general public and on definite efforts to educate the public. Some councils have published booklets such as the Sacramento pamphlet, *Citizens of Tomorrow*. Los Angeles County publishes the *Coordinating Council Bulletin*, a monthly publication. Lincoln Park, Michigan, ran a series of articles in the local paper on the juvenile court. Highland Park, Michigan, publishes a monthly bulletin. Some councils have put on radio programs. The Fuller Park (Chicago) council, encouraged the establishment of a community newspaper. Berkeley has conducted public forums. Other councils report that community consciousness of the needs of children and youth has been created but they do not say exactly how this has been brought about.

The officers of nearly all councils have been in great demand to speak before civic organizations on the work of their councils and the community problems which they have encountered. Los Angeles has had electrical transcriptions made of dramatic incidents in the lives of some of their councils in order to present more vividly what they are accomplishing. Radio has been used to good effect particularly by the Big Brother and Big Sister Association of Illinois, which during the past two years has used over one hundred and fifty hours, all donated.

*Effect on council members* The council work is a continuous process of education for members. One teacher remarked, "A year ago if a child created a disturbance

in my room I immediately thought of punishment or discipline. Now I make a mental note of the fact that we shall have to study this child's problem to find out why he behaves this way." A social worker noted that she and others were becoming community-minded, whereas they had been quite agency-minded before participating in council work.

Someone has said that cooperation is not primarily activity but a state of mind. Certainly experience with neighborhood councils puts all the members in a state of mind that leads to cooperation.

It nearly always happens that a group of officials, social workers, and citizens coming together for the first time to form a council have to be introduced. These meetings bring about a much closer, friendlier relation between agencies. Several councils inform us that new techniques are constantly being reported and that all the members benefit by these new developments. The sharing of information is exceedingly valuable. One council states that the police officer frequently remarks, "Now this is off the record, but we should like to have your advice on how to handle this particular situation." It is needless to say that the police benefit greatly by the monthly meetings of these councils.

*Effect on agency programs* "Our council meetings tend to improve the quality of work of nearly all the agencies involved," says one executive. Another reports, "The Y.M.C.A. and Boy Scouts are entering new fields and are not only taking boys with problems into their present groups, but are going out into neglected areas to organize new groups." Another states, "The council meetings have revealed to the schools that they have not been giving attention to behavior problems and have not been making so much use of other agencies as they might."

Agency programs apparently benefit when councils maintain a community calendar to avoid conflicting dates. In this way each agency has a better chance to put over its program.

Councils have also led to the united effort of all agencies when some big community affair is to be put over. In Sacramento, the schools, churches, playgrounds, and all organized groups joined forces on Hallowe'en to keep the young people so thoroughly occupied that they would not have time to commit their usual depredations. The police reported practically no calls that evening and the losses for the city were the lowest on record.

*Making use of existing facilities* Many councils report a decided increase in the use of facilities for children and youth. The New York Lower West Side Council reports the reopening of a gymnasium; Washington, D. C. the reopening of a swimming pool after a newspaper campaign for funds. Many councils note the wider use of school equipment when the authorities were persuaded to keep the playgrounds open after school. In Los Angeles one council was instrumental in turning an abandoned church into a community center. Churches have been urged to make better use of their equipment during the week. They have been assisted in their vacation school program and attendance has been greatly increased. Councils have also encouraged more extensive use of libraries, and reading lists of interest to boys and girls have been widely distributed. The attendance of children at summer camps has been boosted. Some councils have raised funds to send to camp boys and girls who would otherwise not have been able to attend. Other councils plan summer excursions for children from the poorer districts. This work has been facilitated by the use of men and women on WPA projects.

Many councils have arranged publicity campaigns to

call attention to the facilities available. Nashville published a directory of leisure time activities. New York (lower west side) published a leisure time information service. Compton, California, through the junior college, publishes a bulletin, *Recreation News*, each month. Dayton distributed a mimeographed report of all summer activities.

*Increasing recreation facilities* One of the remarkable accomplishments of these councils for delinquency prevention has been the increase in recreation facilities. Lincoln Park, Michigan, reports an outdoor skating rink. In Mt. Auburn (Cincinnati) a new playground has been promised by the park board as a result of the council's request. Portland states that all of their districts have increased recreation facilities as a result of council activities. In many instances this has not meant any expenditure of funds because the council has arranged volunteer supervision for play areas which would not have been open otherwise. Pittsburgh reports leadership provided on sixty-six playgrounds which except for this would have been closed. In Richmond, Virginia, a special appropriation was secured from the city council for broadening recreational opportunities and lengthening playground hours. Steilacoom, Washington, a town of 500 people, was able to provide a basketball instructor for the boys and girls out of high school, and a playground director for the beach during the summer. Hastings-on-Hudson, New York, employed a recreation director on full time, an assistant director on part time, five WPA workers and fifteen volunteers. As a result the police inquire, "Where are the children? We don't see them roaming the streets any more.."

*Providing service for individual children* Many councils have special committees of officials and professional case workers who take up the problems of indi-

vidual children and endeavor to work out a satisfactory solution. Fuller Park has such a committee meeting every two weeks. Lancaster puts practically its entire effort into this service to children, as does also the Germantown council. In Los Angeles last year over 500 cases were referred to the adjustment committees by the police. These are cases which would otherwise have no follow-up after the conference of the police and the child's parents.

This type of service makes it possible to discover early many children in danger of becoming delinquent. They receive attention from some agency in the council, and their adjustment is much more simple than it would be several years later.

*Creation of new services for children* In Berkeley a public school behavior clinic was established with a psychiatrist, a pediatrician, a psychologist and four visiting counsellors. Richmond secured a juvenile crime prevention officer from the department of public safety to act as a liaison officer between the child and the court, the police department, the social agencies, and society at large. A number of councils have been instrumental in persuading police departments to appoint special officers for juvenile cases.

*Increasing membership and organizing new groups for children* Many councils reported the circulation of a questionnaire in the schools to discover the children who would like to belong to some organized group but have hitherto not had such membership. The lists were turned over to the groups preferred by the children, and many were enrolled as members. In several cities twice as many boys expressed a desire to belong to the Boy Scouts or to the Y.M.C.A. as were already members of these organizations. It was the same with the girls' groups. This information created a demand for leaders

and the demand led to a new type of leadership training course in which all the character building groups participated.

As a result of studies of delinquency areas the character building leaders in a number of cities have directed their attention toward districts hitherto neglected. In one city the Y.M.C.A. requested the assignment of one entire section known to have a high delinquency rate and they agreed to follow up every boy whose name was given to them and see that he had the full advantages of the Y.M.C.A. if he cared to accept them. Another Y.M.C.A. has a leader who specializes in organizing boy gangs according to their chief interest. Washington, D. C. reported the organization of a Boy Scout group in the Negro district. In Durham, North Carolina, a new type of work was undertaken by the Y.W.C.A. in an area not previously covered.

Activities of this sort are reported from so many councils that they could not all be listed. This same interest in neglected groups applies to the camp program as well as to the regular year round program, and hundreds if not thousands of children have had camp experience as a result of the work of these local councils.

*Special attention to young people from 16 to 25* A number of councils recognizing the serious problem facing young people out of school and unable to get work have carried on special efforts in their behalf. Lincoln Park maintains a special employment bureau for this group. Fifteen girls were placed in the first two weeks this bureau functioned. Highland Park reported 105 registered within a short time and 45 placed. Madison, New Jersey, maintains a junior employment service for boys and girls out of school.

Other councils have stimulated special programs in dramatics, athletics, and social meetings for these young

people. Community dances have been sponsored or promoted by councils in a number of cities. Lincoln Park reported that at six Saturday night dances 1,700 young people were in attendance at a charge of only ten cents each. This plan has been carried out in many other cities.

*Removing or controlling destructive influences* Many councils have found certain environmental influences having a definite destructive effect on the character of children. In New York, the Lower West Side Council maintains a better films committee which cooperates closely with the local theatre managers and helps to select films to be shown on Saturday afternoon. The Los Angeles councils helped to arrange a special service in the public library by which information is given over the telephone regarding any film. Bellingham carried on a campaign against salacious magazines and undesirable books in circulating libraries. Some councils have taken an active part in securing ordinances regulating street trades and prohibiting the sale of newspapers, magazines, and other articles by young children. Others have been successful in closing up liquor places that have made a practice of selling to minors.

*Improving the home environment* Linwood (Cincinnati) conducted a series of weekly classes for adults which attracted from three to four hundred people every Friday night. Hastings-on-Hudson promoted adult education classes with a staff of one counsellor, a director on part time, and eight volunteer teachers. Parent education has been emphasized by a number of councils. Some have carried on successful experiments in the poor section of the city where the parents would not ordinarily be interested in classes of this sort. Los Angeles councils have promoted a series of institutes on family relations which have attracted hundreds of people to round table

discussion groups dealing with such subjects as these: child guidance, teamwork in guiding youth, problems of personality (for young people), adjustments within the home to the changed economic situation, community influences on family life, and pitfalls of married life.

### *The Causes of Failure*

*Not geared for action* While attending certain council meetings I sometimes have the feeling that I am sitting in a car when the engine is running but the car is standing perfectly still. It's a good car, but it isn't getting anywhere. Some councils are like that. The meeting may be very interesting and the councils may discuss important subjects, but when they adjourn nothing is decided and they are just about where they started. In fact they may actually have lost ground, because one or more people present decide on the way home: "Well, that will be my last meeting with *that* group. My time is too valuable and I have too many important things to do. They have a great idea there, but they are not putting it over." The chances are that the council has lost one or more of the very people who could have done the most good.

The trouble with such a council is that it is not geared for action. Councils must have the cooperation and representation of certain public departments, institutions, agencies, and organizations. The chairman must know these resources and know where to turn for advice or action. When such a chairman throws in the clutch, the gears mesh and the car begins to move.

I attended such a meeting in Portland. The chairman was a young lawyer who seemed to get results. Every school in the district was represented, the probation department, the council of social agencies, the local

settlement house and other agencies. The chairman had apparently assigned responsibility to several school principals at a previous meeting. These men had received definite replies from the authorities and new plans were under way. The car was moving. The chairman himself reported on a personal assignment. He had gone to the city hall and found out just where they stood on a certain recreation plan. And so the meeting proceeded with definite problems, definite decisions, and definite results.

*Wrong type of leadership* In visiting city after city in connection with this survey I discovered the corpses of defunct councils, or heard the facts regarding their decease. There were not many of these dead councils, comparatively few in fact, but they deserve a careful autopsy. Several others seemed rather anaemic, with slim chances for a long life. In a few instances plans were ready for a new council, but the leadership was so weak that one could predict failure or at least a very ineffective existence. In one instance a well meaning individual started a council and then went away and left it to die, apparently feeling that his work was done. A young council needs as much attention as a young infant. In another case an old feud between two officials was revived at a council meeting, and the council died as a result. In still another community the leader was too aggressive and moved ahead without consulting his group. Soon he was marching alone.

*Wrong type of sponsorship* In one city a citizens' group assumed the leadership without enough information. Of course the leadership was not recognized, and the new-born council died a few weeks after its birth. In another city a similar group took the lead and insisted on carrying the full responsibility, even excluding certain other agencies. A movement which attempts to coordi-

nate the efforts of all agencies in child welfare defeats its own purpose by an attempt at exclusion.

Three points may be noted in these post mortem examinations: first, death has practically always taken place in the infancy of the organization; second, the individual leader is a very important person to consider; and third, citizens' organizations seem to have difficulty in sponsoring a coordinating body.

*Some quoted criticisms* It is well for us to consider some of the criticisms leveled at councils even when they seem to be doing fairly well. Here are a few:

"The council idea is all right, but the present chairman is not the man for the place. He is very undiplomatic and has already antagonized some influential people."

"What does the council do besides talk? What does it actually accomplish?"

"We don't accomplish as much as we should like. We need a full time or part time worker to carry out our plans."

"We are ineffective because we are working alone. We need some one from a county or state office to help us out."

"The —— council made the mistake of bringing lay people into the case study committee. As a result they went out of existence for a while and then reorganized."

"The —— council started off like another agency and began to raise money. Instead of acting as a coordinating body and using existing agencies they began to assume responsibility for certain types of work just like an agency."

"This particular council is too much of a school proposition. It is not really a community organization at all. The school is using it to solve the school problems."

"It is just a scheme of the judge to get some publicity and to get a group of influential people back of him for the next campaign."

"The man who is promoting this is a publicity hound. All he thinks about is breaking into print. It is a paper organization in more ways than one."

### *Requisites of Success*

Study of successes as well as failures leads inevitably to the conclusion that success depends more on the quality of leadership and supervision and the amount of assistance that councils receive than on any other factors.

*Sponsorship* The first requisite for success seems to be sponsorship by some well known agency, public or private. It does not matter so much what agency, so long as the leaders are whole-heartedly back of the council movement and willing to put time and effort into it. This means that the council will have a recognized headquarters and people who can be depended on to give certain assistance. Participation in the council program becomes a part of the regular work of the staff members. From the very beginning the work of the local council assumes a place of importance in the community because it has the backing of a certain well-known public department or private agency.

A study of the agencies sponsoring councils reveals that this part is taken by juvenile courts and probation departments in six counties and three cities, representing ninety-seven councils. Next come the councils of social agencies which have served as sponsor for local councils in one county and eight cities, representing approximately fifty-five councils. Municipal recreation departments have assumed sponsorship in two cities. City officials have taken the lead in two cities, while school officials

have sponsored such organizations in three cities. Religious groups have helped to organize four councils, and private agencies four councils. University professors have taken the lead in two instances. Six councils are apparently without sponsorship of any kind. It will be interesting to see how they succeed.

A question which arises frequently is, "What financial burden is involved in this sponsorship?" In most cases the first financial responsibility is the time of one or more staff members. In several instances budgets have not been affected but a staff member has been instructed to give a certain amount of time to the local councils. In other cases an additional person has been taken on the staff for full time or part time to give the supervision required.

*Can citizens' organizations sponsor councils?* The question is sometimes asked, "Can citizens' organizations successfully sponsor councils for the prevention of delinquency?" Experience thus far would indicate that lay groups should not accept full responsibility for this type of work. They can play a very important part, however, in launching a council program. This has been well illustrated in Indianapolis by the Junior Chamber of Commerce, an organization of progressive young businessmen who heard about councils from their national juvenile welfare committee. They made a study of these organizations by getting literature on the subject and then approached the heads of various city departments and private agencies to talk over the plan with them. When the time was ripe they presented the idea to the Council of Social Agencies and received the assurance of the executive that he would be glad to present the plan to his board with his personal backing. Now the Junior Chamber of Commerce stands ready to back up the Council of Social Agencies in any way that it can,

but it will expect this agency to accept responsibility when they once decide to enter this field.

Citizens' organizations and churches are not in a position to accept sole responsibility for the coordinating council type of organization, but they can be of great help in giving support to the agency that does accept the responsibility. Space is lacking to describe adequately the part played in these local councils by service clubs, women's clubs, parent-teacher associations, American Legion posts, chambers of commerce, and churches. Their work is equal in importance to that of official departments or private agencies, and they render a service which cannot be performed by the others.

*Central executive boards* A requirement for counties or large cities is a central executive board representing the public and private agencies, the citizens' group having to do with children or youth, and the local neighborhood councils.

This board is essential for three reasons. First, it is necessary that the interested agencies be represented on a central board, because in this way they will have a definite part in planning this movement and will be informed as to all that the local councils are doing. In the second place, if the local councils are to have the active cooperation of the agency representatives in their district, it is necessary that the head of the agency participate in this work and instruct staff workers to take part in the local program. In the third place, local councils find that they are continually seeking to improve the service provided for children by public departments and private agencies. Their best chance of securing such additional service is to have the full cooperation of the heads of these departments and agencies both on the central planning board and in the council itself.

*Field workers* Another requisite for success in a

county or city with a number of local councils is a field worker on full or part time, to act as liaison officer between the central planning board and the local council. He attends practically all council meetings and is ready to give assistance whenever it is needed. When some problem arises which he cannot meet he takes it back to the central committee and asks advice. His presence gives the local councils confidence that they are not working alone and that they have at all times the backing, not only of the sponsoring agency from which the field worker comes, but of the central planning board on which many agencies are represented. Washington, D. C. has a part time worker from the council of social agencies for this function. Pittsburgh has three workers from the federation of social agencies, one in the county area and two in the city. The councils of social agencies in Detroit and Syracuse have each one worker in the field. The probation department in Los Angeles and San Diego Counties each has a full time officer engaged in this work. The Seattle juvenile court has recently added a man to the staff to organize and assist local councils. The Portland Council of Social Agencies has a worker on part time. San Francisco has an executive secretary supported by funds from a national foundation.

*The small town council* The council in the small town has to pay the same price for success although the members may find that no actual expenditure of money is required. That is, the small town council should have the backing of some recognized department or agency. The council itself should have representatives from public and private agencies and civic organizations, and should have if possible some officer who can give time to this work, the amount depending on the size of the town and the extent of the program. The town and the smaller city will also find that a visit from a county or

state department representative is a great help and gives them confidence.

*Each group to be considered of equal importance* Recognition on the part of the council leaders of the contribution to be made by each group in the council is an important consideration. Sometimes a leader who belongs in one group is inclined to minimize the importance of the experience and information of another. The success of the council work depends on drawing out all the information possible and making use of the experience of all the members.

The social worker brings his techniques and methods, his knowledge of resources in the community and of the problems to be faced. The official brings knowledge of the city government, of plans and possibilities for a given district. The private citizen brings his knowledge of the community, his personal interest in his own neighborhood, and the backing of the group he represents. In finding a solution to a given community problem it is often the local citizen who comes through with an original idea that has escaped all the others. He is not acquainted with official procedure or trained in social work technique, but he knows his community and can often improvise ways and means of getting things done.

*The council as a coordinating body* Strict adherence to the original idea of coordination has to be kept in mind continually. This means that the work is done by the organizations represented on the council and not by the council itself. Real results are obtained by the member organizations, not at the council meeting but as a result of the meeting. The council is a medium for the discovery of needs and conditions in the community and for planning to meet these needs. It is for this reason that most councils do not seek publicity for themselves but for the agency which actually does the job.

*Focus attention on children's needs* Still another requisite to success in this work is keeping attention on the needs of the children and the community, and not on the needs of the agencies. The community chest and the council of social agencies exist to see that the agencies are financed and that problems of inter-agency cooperation are ironed out. They are concerned with budgets, campaigns, buildings, equipment, personnel, salaries, policies, functions, techniques, methods and the like, while the local coordinating councils are concerned about meeting the needs of this neighborhood gang of boys, these out-of-school-and-out-of-work young people, these parents who are neglecting their children. The coordinating council turns to the agency in making its plans, and the agency discovers that the council, by pointing out areas and groups needing its service, can make agency efforts far more effective than they ever were before.

### *Trends*

From the study which has been made thus far certain trends or tendencies are evident. These will be listed briefly without amplification since some of the same topics are covered in the report of the Atlantic City conference.

*Objectives* From delinquency prevention as an announced objective by itself, emphasis has shifted to the interest of *all* children, and to making the community a more wholesome place in which to live.

*Programs* From the study of individual cases a number of councils have been led to study the causes back of these personal problems, community conditions in general, and environment for children both in the home and in the community. The referral of cases is not discontinued but is made part of a broader program.

Councils starting out to improve community environ-

ment frequently add a committee for adjustment of the problems of individual children.

*Size of district* Some of the councils organized more recently are selecting smaller geographical units than the councils organized several years ago. The councils in the small neighborhoods seem to get closer to their problems and to be more effective than the councils attempting to cover large districts. Some of the more recent councils in large cities are fixing boundaries which include only a few thousand people, while some of the older ones attempt to cover an area with over 100,000 population. Among the most effective councils are those in communities ranging from 2,000 (or fewer) to 15,000 people.

*Number of field workers* The number of field secretaries appointed for the sole purpose of assisting these community organizations has steadily increased. From present indications a considerable number will be added in 1936.

*County organization* Five counties now have organizations with council membership to promote this type of work: Los Angeles and San Diego Counties, California; Washtenaw County, Michigan; Morris County, New Jersey; King County, Washington; and Cache County, Utah.

*State organizations* Five states have organizations to promote or to assist coordinating councils. These are California, Illinois, New Hampshire, Ohio, and Utah. State departments of public welfare in Washington and Pennsylvania have assisted in giving information regarding this movement.

*Use of federal projects* Many councils are making use of Works Progress Administration and National Youth Administration projects. If these projects con-

tinue for another year it is probable that many more councils will take advantage of the opportunity to use unemployed men and women in making community studies and in helping their local work in a variety of ways.

### *Conclusions*

1. Coordination of local resources is generally accepted as the most hopeful method of preventing delinquency. The problem is too great for any one agency to solve alone.

2. Delinquency prevention is not an objective to be gained at one stroke or by one type of attack. It involves raising the standards of service to children, youth, and the home, and the standards of the community itself.

3. Each council should have two sets of goals or objectives—the immediate and the remote. The immediate objective should be to meet practical needs apparent to all members of the council and not beyond the powers of the council.

4. It is necessary to avoid crystallization of programs and the assumption that a program which has worked successfully in one district can be applied with equal success in another. Each community must conduct its own studies and work out its own program.

5. Because of the resourcefulness, originality, and skill required in developing a program to meet the needs of each community, it is necessary that only highly-trained and experienced leaders be put in charge of this work in cities, counties, and state organizations.

6. If this type of community organization is to succeed, a new type of training will have to be given in teachers' colleges, theological schools, schools of social work, and schools of public administration. In this new

training all students should be prepared for, and urged to participate in community planning on a cooperative basis.

7. The greatest obstacles to success in this work are the non-cooperative or agency-minded officials, social workers, ministers, and educators who do not accept any responsibility beyond the narrow confines of their own jobs. Sometimes what appears to be non-cooperation is due to lack of information or pressure of work which prevents cooperative effort.

8. There is great variation in the efficiency of coordinating and neighborhood councils just as there is in the efficiency of schools, churches, service clubs, and juvenile courts. The determining factors are local leadership and the assistance the leader receives from city, county, or state offices.

9. The broader the program, the more skillful the leader will have to be and the more cooperation he will need. Some of the older councils carry on a successful attack on many fronts. But this success could not have come when the council was new, when the leaders were inexperienced and the degree of cooperation uncertain.

10. In view of the number and complexity of the problems faced by local councils, it is necessary that young councils tackle simple problems and avoid the more difficult community situations until they are strong enough to cope with them. The mental hygiene principle of planning successes for children in order to build their self-confidence is one which council leaders may well follow.

11. Although this movement is still young several councils are going through a period of reorganization because they started off under the wrong leadership and no real coordination was effected. They were inactive for a time and were later revived under different leadership.

12. The necessity of dividing large cities into units of workable size for study and organization is generally recognized.

13. When there is no central control in city, county, or state there is danger of instability and lack of permanence.

14. The entire movement throughout the country will lack stability and permanence until some national clearing house is established for information, for continuous research, and for advisory service.

## The First National Conference on Coordinating Councils

### EXPERIENCE AND OPINION IN BRIEF

THE first national conference on coordinating councils was held May 22, 1936, under the sponsorship of the National Probation Association as part of their annual conference. This all-day conference was the outgrowth of requests from many social workers and officials who are actively participating in some type of neighborhood council. The day was planned for informal discussion, for exchange of experience and opinion, rather than for formal addresses. Over four hundred attended the conference.

The variety of organizations represented on the program and in the audience was noteworthy. The speakers and discussion leaders were distributed professionally as follows: four representatives of councils of social agencies, three probation officers, two professors of sociology, a juvenile court judge, a national executive of the American Red Cross, a professor of education, a superintendent of schools, a visiting teacher, a secretary of the National Council of the Y.M.C.A., a settlement headworker, a community recreation director; staff members of the U. S. Children's Bureau, of a state department of welfare, of a community chest; and the executive director of the National Probation Association. The speakers represented fourteen cities and towns and with one exception are active participants in a coordinated community program with delinquency prevention as one of its objectives.

In view of the fact that these participants represented

such varied backgrounds of training and experience, that they are all experimenting in a type of community organization which is still new, that they came from different sections of the country and were nearly all strangers to one another, we might well have expected many different viewpoints and some real arguments. A remarkable degree of agreement and slight differences of opinion in evidence during the day suggest that experience in this new field has already reached the point where some of the requisites for success and the causes of failure can be identified.

A resolutions committee composed of Harry A. Wann, Supervising Principal, Public Schools, Madison, N. J., *Chairman*; Eric W. Gibberd, Community Chest, Cincinnati; Mrs. Florence E. Collington, Headworker, Germantown Settlement, Philadelphia; and Kenneth S. Beam, Special Field Agent of the National Probation Association, crystallized some of the thinking of the conference in the form of six resolutions as follows:

1. RESOLVED: That plans be made to bring together the heads of the national organizations whose local units usually participate in the coordinating and neighborhood councils, to study this movement cooperatively and to formulate a policy whereby each national organization may be informed regarding the movement so that it may best advise its local units regarding their participation.

2. RESOLVED: That steps be taken to call together next year another conference of those interested in this movement, with the expectation of making this an annual event.

3. RESOLVED: That a program committee for the 1937 conference be appointed and that this committee prepare as soon as possible a statement of the major objectives which they feel should be emphasized during the current year.

4. RESOLVED: That, in arranging the program for the 1937 conference, the program committee consider the possibility of cooperation with the community organization section of the National Conference of Social Work.

5. RESOLVED: That the members of this conference express their sincere appreciation to the board of trustees of the National Probation Association, to the executive director, Charles L. Chute, and to the special field agent, Kenneth S. Beam, for the contribution they have made to this new field of community service and for making possible this conference.

6. RESOLVED: That the National Probation Association be asked to continue its work of studying, compiling and distributing information on the developments in this field, and to give information and assistance as far as possible to communities desiring this service.

Resolution number three calling for a program committee for the 1937 conference resulted in the appointment of Harry A. Wann of Madison, N. J., as chairman; Isabel Kennedy, Pittsburgh; Lowell J. Carr, Ann Arbor, Michigan; and Frederic M. Thrasher, New York City.

In reply to resolution number six the executive director of the National Probation Association announced that the Association would continue Mr. Beam's services for at least another six months' period.

The Advisory Committee on Coordinating Councils met on the day of the conference.<sup>1</sup>

Extracts from the day's discussion and expressions of community experience are quoted in the pages following. They have been selected to indicate in very brief form the trends of thought in the conference. Some speakers who participated in the discussion are not quoted as their papers at other sessions are given in full elsewhere in the Yearbook. The quotations are necessarily not verbatim, some of them being reproduced from rough notes taken at the meeting. They do, however, give the substance of the discussion.

1. For report of this meeting see page 149.

*Definition and Interpretation*

I believe that this meeting is destined to be one of great significance. In the early days of our history, particularly in New England, the responsibility for action in local matters rested automatically upon the people through the town meeting. Since cities have become congested, responsibility has gradually shifted to somewhat distant authorities until now the ordinary citizen feels almost helpless, takes little responsibility and sometimes doesn't even take the trouble to vote. The individual locally is submerged. In some ways he is the forgotten man.

The coordinating council movement should restore some of these earlier powers and should give back responsibility for meeting local situations as they arise. It is a wholesome movement, returning to domestic principles.—*Thomas W. Gosling, Director, Junior Red Cross; Chairman, Central Committee on Neighborhood Councils, Washington, D. C.*

The coordinating council seems to be a device for focusing community forces on community problems. What problems the council deals with depend in each community on at least three things: the set-up of existing agencies, the nature of the local problems, and what I might call the morale of the council itself.

This movement is an expression of widespread dissatisfaction on the part of court leaders and laymen with the way in which existing institutions and agencies have been handling the delinquency problem up to date. That dissatisfaction is real and if professional agencies do not respond to it the movement will go around them or over them, but it will go on.—*Lowell Juilliard Carr, Department of Sociology, University of Michigan.*

I first became acquainted with this movement in 1932

in Los Angeles. This conference today may be a historical occasion because there is need of what I might call systematization of this movement. We have not yet arrived at the time for any rigid organization.

One of the greatest problems in our cities has to do with harmful community influences of various kinds for which no one accepts any personal responsibility. Coordinating councils can serve to call public attention to these problems and provide a means for their solution. Their greatest usefulness will be as boards of strategy in a campaign for human welfare. I question the wisdom of their endeavoring to go too far as agencies into specific problems. I think of these councils as planning boards for stimulating agencies, calling attention to unmet needs, and arranging for the development of new agencies if necessary.—*Herbert G. Cochran, Judge, Juvenile Court, Norfolk, Virginia.*

The coordinating council has arisen because of the tendency of professional workers to settle down in their individual grooves and stay there. For twenty years I have met various types of professional people. I find certain very highly trained specialists who cannot think broad-mindedly. They prefer to settle down into the routine of their own jobs so they will not have to think about community problems as a whole. If they participate in a cooperative movement they are inclined to play the "prima donna." However, it is possible for us to find places for all types of people in this movement and lead them all to think in terms of the larger problems facing the entire community.

Some one here has said, "The problem of crime can not be solved by the action of any one social organization." This statement emphasizes the importance of the board of strategy as described by Judge Cochran.—

*Justin Miller, Special Assistant to the U. S. Attorney General, Washington, D. C.*

<sup>E</sup> If we would keep children out of trouble there must be coordination of law enforcement agencies and the social resources of the community in the interest of youth. The coordinating council plan offers one means of contact, by which the leaders in each community meet frequently with representatives of social work and law enforcement agencies. Before gathering in a group they do not know each other. After the first or second meeting an entirely different attitude develops, a spirit of confidence, cooperation and understanding. Petty jealousies and criticisms are supplanted by a cordial desire to work together. Each agency takes part in the picture. The community forces are at last arrayed for combined action and service. Crime and delinquency can be reduced when the community goes into action.—*Kenyon J. Scudder, Chairman, Executive Board, Los Angeles County Coordinating Council.*

There is no doubt that these councils stimulate thinking in terms of delinquency prevention. What we must figure out is just how these prevention measures fit into the entire picture of community organization. We don't want this movement to be separate from other movements. We must do further thinking in order to see that this program is properly related to the whole community plan.—*Allen T. Burns, Executive Vice President, Community Chests and Councils, New York.*

I look upon these councils as the organized conscience of the community. There is ordinarily no community conscience about the conditions in many of our modern cities which contribute directly to delinquency and crime. We permit boys to grow up in poverty, disease, unwholesome surroundings, and then send them to prison when

they commit some offense. These councils can help individual children, and can help to solve community problems.—*Sanford Bates, Director, Bureau of Prisons, U. S. Department of Justice, Washington, D. C.*

Perhaps what we need is more than coordination. We need to plan for a new type of community. Here is a simple formula which may be helpful in working out a community plan:

1. Think in terms, not of agencies, but of the needs of the community.
2. Make an analysis of the agencies and institutions which are attempting to meet these needs.
3. Endeavor to meet the needs revealed by the analysis.

—*Harry A. Wann, Chairman, Social Planning Council, Madison, New Jersey.*

### *Objectives*

The average community has many types of problems, such as health problems, adult dependency problems, problems of the home and family. Since we must not burn up good-will for nothing and we cannot do everything at once, it would seem wise to focus attention on one problem at a time. One of our difficulties up to date has been the scattering of our shot. It is highly essential in order to get results that we identify our targets and aim accurately.

With reference to community planning, the delinquency prevention movement can have no quarrel with anyone interested in making better communities for children. Certainly no sociologist imagines that delinquency can be separated from other community problems.—*Lowell Juilliard Carr, Department of Sociology, University of Michigan.*

I represent community organization from the point of view of a council of social agencies which is naturally concerned with all of the elements in the community and with the development of a comprehensive community plan.

What are the objectives of community planning? As we see it, the first is to consider the assets and liabilities of the community; the second is to work with what the community has in order to make these assets useful. No community is going to be changed against its own interest or desire by the injection of an outside force. Therefore the first thing that has to be done in determining objectives is to find out what the well disposed and socially minded citizens are willing to do and interested in doing.

But where does juvenile delinquency come in? At every point along the way the community itself attacks its problems—housing, health, unlighted swimming pools and playgrounds, beer parlor and dance hall inspection. For after all it is obvious that anything which builds up resources for the constructive use of leisure time is a significant step in the prevention of delinquency. It is not and never can be absolute prevention of delinquency because the causes of delinquency are too complex to be eradicated by any one program of social action.—*Isabel Kennedy, Executive Secretary, Federation of Social Agencies, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.*

We have a community council in Highland Park, Michigan, which we call the Highland Park Human Relations Council. We did not call it a coordinating council because we suspected that we had people and agencies in our community who did not want to be coordinated.

In stating our purpose we left out the word delinquency, because we did not want to enter into the controversy between community planning in the broadest

social service interpretation of that expression, and delinquency prevention in its more specific connotation. Our purpose is stated in these words: "for the deeper understanding of the causes of social problems, and greater community participation in their prevention." In that way we avoided some conflicts which other councils experience; and we were free to act, in Judge Cochran's words, as a board of strategy for the community.—*Arthur G-T. Courteau, Probation Department, Juvenile Court, Detroit, Michigan.*

The first emphasis of coordinating councils was on preventing delinquency. It seems to me that there are three things to keep in mind: first, we want to be sure that the agencies dealing with delinquency are well organized and adequate; second comes the problem of preventing delinquency about which very little is being done; third, after the two previous needs have been met, we can branch out into general community planning.—*Charles L. Chute, Executive Director, National Probation Association, New York.*

I agree with Mr. Chute that we must concentrate our attention on the prevention of delinquency. These coordinating councils are stimulating existing community organizations in this direction. However, organizing to prevent delinquency and organizing to deal with social needs are the same.—*Allen T. Burns, Executive Vice President, Community Chests and Councils, New York.*

One group is concerned with the prevention of delinquency. Another group is concerned with the broader character building influences of the community. These two interests are closely related. When we want to prevent delinquency we must enter the field of character-building. We should not make this an issue of "either or." We in the character building field want to cooper-

ate with those working for the prevention of delinquency. We feel that they need us too. We should all work together toward a common goal.—*Paul D. Eddy, Director of Vacation and Weekday Church Schools, International Council of Religious Education, New York.*

There is no difference between a community program for social betterment and one for prevention of delinquency. One is dependent upon the other. There is no community in any city which has not a delinquency problem. The difference is that delinquency is under control in some areas. That is the purpose of the coordinating council—to plan community life carefully, watch for “hot spots,” keep it planned so that the community will be one jump ahead of delinquency. If you are ahead you can talk about character building, etc., and go on to broader fields.—*Justin Miller, Special Assistant to the Attorney General, Washington, D. C.*

#### *Organization and Supervision*

In the organization of the Washington neighborhood councils many features of the Los Angeles plan were borrowed. However, the type of council produced in Washington is distinctive in that no single objective, other than the general plan of community betterment, is recognized as applicable to *all* councils. The plan followed in the organization of the councils has contemplated, however, that each should determine for itself the existence of individual anti social conditions within its territory and should frame its program accordingly.

Viewing the progress of this movement in the nation's capitol within the past two years, I can say with a degree of assurance that future development must largely depend on wisdom in organizing community efforts, on selection of responsible, intelligent, and ag-

gressive group leaders, and of course, on the extent to which the community recognizes its responsibility for its own problems and marshals its forces to make that community a better place in which to live.—*Mary L. Coulson, Secretary, Neighborhood Councils, Council of Social Agencies, Washington, D. C.*

The general plan of community betterment behind the Washington councils is one which I can heartily endorse. I agree also that while certain fundamental principles of council organization are common to all, each council should determine for itself the prevalence of individual antisocial conditions within its own territory and should frame its program accordingly.—*Ruth Jennings, Secretary, District Councils, Council of Social Agencies of Metropolitan Detroit, Michigan.*

I have been a taxpayer for twenty years, but have paid very little attention to community problems. One Christmas morning the lifeless body of a child was found in our community. We soon discovered that this was not an isolated event but that it led back to neighborhood conditions, poor housing, parental neglect, and other social causes. There was something delinquent about community life.

First we made a study with the aid of one of the universities, but this professional report didn't register. It was too technical and few understood it. So four of us went to the mayor, a socially-minded man in this community of 7,000. The editor of the paper was also interested. The mayor appointed eight citizens as community advisors. These formed the nucleus of the Hastings Community Service Council. The following divisions were created: recreation and parks; family and child welfare; housing; public relief and welfare; health; adult education. Each division had its committee of

citizens from such fields as social work, school administration, law, medicine, and labor. The city provides a budget of \$6,000 for this community service council.—*Henry Israel, Senior Secretary, Town and Country Service, National Council of Y.M.C.A.; Chairman, Community Service Council, Hastings-on-Hudson, New York.*

The essential factors in the work of these councils are first, recognition of the problem; second, the determination to do something about it; and third, the use of local facilities in working out the solution. The big contribution of the coordinating council is in releasing the potentialities in neighborhood leadership, and in the skillful direction of this leadership toward solution of our increasingly complicated neighborhood problems.

It is quite evident that social workers in building up their techniques have overlooked or not developed this skill. They are taking their part in developing it now, and have a great deal to contribute out of the very techniques and institutions which they have developed.—*Roy Cushman, Secretary, Council of Social Agencies, Boston, Massachusetts.*

#### *Relationship to the Council of Social Agencies*

I have been president of the council of social agencies in Washington for the past two years. This is a group of professional people. My idea of a coordinating council, as in Los Angeles for instance, is that it is a mixed group of lay and professional people to supplement, back up, and support the council of social agencies.—*Sanford Bates, Director, Bureau of Prisons, U. S. Department of Justice, Washington, D. C.*

The council of social agencies created a central committee to direct the work of the neighborhood councils. This central committee includes the executives of cer-

tain organizations and the chairmen of the neighborhood councils. The council of social agencies provides the services of a worker from their staff to assist the neighborhood councils and report to the central committee.—*Mrs. W. A. Roberts, Executive Secretary, Council of Social Agencies, Washington, D. C.*

There is no conflict between the council of social agencies and these coordinating or neighborhood councils. They rather constitute a challenge to our skill in the use of, or coordination of, local forces. In some cases councils of social agencies have taken the lead in organizing neighborhood councils. In other instances these local councils have been organized by citizens interested in the welfare of children. It is not necessarily a criticism of the council of social agencies that it cannot do this or that as well as some other group in the community. But the leaders in the council of social agencies should be responsive to a problem like this and should help in its solution. If a situation should develop that seems beyond the resources of the community, the council of social agencies should plan ways and means and the organization of the group which is to handle the problem.—*Roy Cushman, Secretary, Council of Social Agencies, Boston, Massachusetts.*

It seems to me that any activity in neighborhood organization which is sponsored by the council of social agencies should strengthen the work of the council. In neighborhood councils, we have an excellent opportunity to work out in small areas experiments for closer coordination of social services for which there is a recognized need in the city as a whole. A central planning committee in Detroit coordinates the work of the individual councils and plans for their future.—*Ruth Jennings, Secretary, District Councils, Council of Social Agencies of Metropolitan Detroit, Michigan.*

*Participation of Citizens' Groups*

The Community Recreation Association of Richmond organized five neighborhood councils because it believes that better results can be obtained in the reduction of juvenile delinquency through cooperation of the public schools, neighborhood associations, police department, churches, public recreation department, business men's groups, parent-teacher associations, city council and civic organizations. In January, 1931, the association organized the first neighborhood council in Richmond consisting of representatives of these various organizations. Later four other councils were organized, primarily for the purpose of reducing delinquency in neighborhoods where delinquency rates were highest. These councils were formed after the Community Recreation Association had made a study of the relationship between delinquency and the misuse of idle time.—*Claire McCarthy, Director, Community Recreation Association, Richmond, Virginia.*

We face this practical situation. In our state we have only fifteen or twenty community chests in 83 counties. If we are to do anything about delinquency prevention in the non-chest counties, we cannot wait for professional social workers to take the lead, because there are no such workers there. As a matter of fact, a number of communities with community chests have very few professional social workers, or the interest of chest agencies in delinquency prevention is at best only luke warm. Obviously, practical results are not going to come from waiting for professional leadership that is either nonexistent or uninterested.—*Lowell Juilliard Carr, Department of Sociology, University of Michigan.*

Through friends from San Francisco and Los Angeles I became interested in coordinating councils. Two

months after taking my oath of office I organized a coordinating council for the leisure time of youth for white people and one for Negroes, all working under one central committee which sets the policies.

We have three committees: environment, adjustment, and character-building, each having a chairman. The personnel of the council is composed of representatives from more than thirty civic clubs, social agencies and other organizations, and twenty-seven Negro organizations. So much interest has been created that other civic groups are volunteering their services.

We must harness together all our constructive social forces for a united drive to a common objective, get the facts regarding delinquent areas, inform others, and create an interest in wiping out bad conditions which are breeding places for crime.—*Mamie D. Walker, Judge, Juvenile Court, Durham, North Carolina.*

#### *Handling Individual Cases*

After six years of active cooperation and integration of programs by the Madison Social Planning Council, the group thinking inevitably reached down to the individual, and a request came from members of the council that a committee be formed for the purpose of meeting individual needs, from a more professional and scientific approach. Harry A. Wann, who through his initiative and social viewpoint had been instrumental from the beginning in stimulating the growth of the council, met this request by inviting a group of interested leaders to join with the schools in a staff conference already operating. This developed into a community case study conference which meets once a month, and is composed of the following members: a Catholic priest, ministers of the Methodist, Presbyterian, Negro Methodist and Baptist churches, Drew University School of Religious Edu-

cation, the general secretary of the Young Men's Christian Association, a settlement house director, the chairman of the welfare committee, a visiting nurse, two child hygiene nurses, a representative of the police department, teachers interested in particular cases, the supervising principal, the high school principal, the elementary supervisor, the visiting teacher, and outside community agencies interested either in specific cases or in the development of this type of approach to the individual. The latter group includes representatives of the county tuberculosis association, a psychiatric social worker from the Northern New Jersey Mental Hygiene Clinic and workers from the county child welfare and placement agencies.

From the first meeting of this group emphasis has been directed toward the development of a professional attitude in the handling of confidential material involved in individual problems. There has never been, in the two years of operation of this committee, a violation of this professional responsibility or misuse of the confidential material under discussion.—*Marion Echols, Visiting Teacher, Madison, New Jersey.*

Our council, which has been established about a year, is composed of a steering or adjustment committee dealing with children sixteen years of age or under, brought to our attention by an elementary school, a junior high school and the police department. We are gradually having referred to us problems from other local agencies.

The committee is composed of a lay chairman familiar with social work processes in Philadelphia and particularly in Germantown, a juvenile court judge, a district superintendent of public schools, a psychiatrist from a mental hygiene institute, a representative from the council of social agencies, a member of the police depart-

ment, and three case work executives, one from the family society, another from the child guidance clinic, the third from the bureau of compulsory education. The head worker from the Germantown settlement is the secretary.

Our group meets monthly as a whole. On occasions, a small group meets to discuss the needs of individual children. Although we have a good set-up it was only a few months ago that we really were "cleared for action."

In our local elementary school great satisfaction is expressed by the principal and teachers for the benefit not only to the child but also to the teachers themselves. Teachers with whom we come in contact are relieved to know of our study group and are more sympathetic and understanding of the behavior problems of the children in their classes. Our case studies have convinced us that children become delinquent because early symptoms are not always recognized, or when seen, are not treated.—*Mrs. Florence E. Collington, Headworker, Germantown Settlement, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Secretary, Germantown Coordinating Council.*

### *Requisites for Success*

There are no tangible minimum requirements for success nor are there definite limitations to a movement which is so much in a state of flux as the one under discussion. However, there are certain requirements on which there may be considerable agreement:

1. The community should as a whole want some coordinated movement of this sort, should feel a need for a greater or a new type of social interaction and control. This need ought to be general, not specific. That is, the desire should be for something more fundamental than recreation centers and day nurseries.

2. Careful study and analysis is necessary if the community is to eliminate anti social forces creating social maladjustment. The community cannot afford to ignore certain broad economic, political, and social problems.

3. The group or agency which sponsors the local council must be capable of interpreting the desires of the community as a whole, must have no individual interests to serve, must be willing, in fact, to submerge individual interest for the common good.

4. The leader of the group whether paid or volunteer should be an integral part of the community and be sensitive to community feelings. He must be able to integrate varying personalities and organizations without superimposing his own ideas.

5. In all study of individuals and their problems, it is highly important that individual rights be protected, and that discussions be kept impersonal and professional. —*Margaret M. Swiggard, Division of Family and Child Welfare, Bureau of Community Work, Department of Welfare, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.*

The first thing in any job is wisdom, which means knowing what to do. The second is skill, which means knowing how to do it. The third is virtue, having desire to do it. Most of us want to do something about community conditions before we decide what it is we are going to cure. We need skill in providing for centralized control and for securing democratic participation. We lack wisdom. I don't think we know yet what it is we are trying to prevent or cure. I have no definition of delinquency. We are all pre-delinquents unless we have a delinquency record.—*Mrs. Sophia M. Robison, Division of Neighborhood Statistics, Research Bureau, Welfare Council of New York City.*

Success in a coordinating council calls for a high quality of unselfishness and community spirit among co-operating agencies. Success must be measured by the degree in which service actually reaches neglected groups and not by how well agency traditions are maintained and buttressed with public recognition. Generally speaking social work agencies do not reject the idea of coordination, but they do have difficulty in seeing themselves as the coordinated.

Finally I would hold forth two chief goals: first, an intensified and expanded public support and appreciation; second, a recognition of the need for integration of services on a community basis. The possibility that coordinating councils will help us achieve these goals commends them to us. With wider citizen support, community mindedness in our agencies and services will indeed flow through to once neglected boys and girls.—*Eric W. Gibberd, Community Chest, Cincinnati, Ohio; Chairman, Youth Agencies Council.*

## National Roster of Coordinating Councils

THE following roster of coordinating councils under various names is doubtless incomplete but it contains all the information available to the National Probation Association up to August 1, 1936. It is hoped that those who read the roster and make note of omissions or errors of any sort will notify the Association so that the list may be as correct and up-to-date as possible.

The total number of councils in the United States runs well over 250. Nine of the larger cities, exclusive of New York and Chicago, have a total of 84 councils. Los Angeles has 21. The state of California has 110 councils in 81 cities and towns.

Before 1935 councils were organized in 95 cities and towns in 12 states. During 1935 new councils were organized in 43 cities and towns, bringing the total of states up to 19. During the first six months of 1936 new councils were organized in 26 cities and towns. All but one of these were in the states previously listed.

The roster includes only name, location, number of local units, type of organization, sponsorship, and the name of the executive secretary or the person who can supply further information.

**ARIZONA** Four coordinating councils were organized in 1935 under the sponsorship of the Federation of Women's Clubs in Glendale, Phoenix, Tempe, and Tucson. The women's clubs recognize the desirability of supervision by some public agency.

Mrs. Bertha Stevens, secretary, Arizona Coordinating Councils, City Hall, Phoenix.

**CALIFORNIA** A state organization, the California Coordinating Councils, was formed in May, 1935, and a constitution was adopted in May, 1936. This organization meets as a kindred group with the California State Conference of Social Work.

*Berkeley* The original coordinating council was organized in 1919 by August Vollmer, chief of police, and Virgil Dickson, then assistant superintendent of schools, who has served continuously as chairman. This council is made up of representatives of public departments. It originally spent most of its time on individual cases, but recently has given more time to community conditions and department policies.

Virgil Dickson, Superintendent of Schools, chairman.

*Los Angeles County* The organization of councils was started in January, 1932, sponsored by the juvenile court and probation department. Twenty-one councils have been organized in the city and 39 in the county. One deputy probation officer assisted by a staff of W.P.A. workers gives full time to this work.

These councils are made up of representatives of city and county departments, private agencies (including churches), and citizens' organizations. A county executive board on which the local councils are represented serves as a policy-forming group.

H. G. Stark, supervisor of coordinating councils, Los Angeles County Probation Office, 139 North Broadway.

*Oakland* The Junior Chamber of Commerce sponsored the work in Oakland, starting in 1934 with seven district councils. Workers on a federal project made a study of community assets and liabilities and assisted in organization. When the federal project came to an end some of these councils became inactive. The work is directed by a central committee.

O. F. Snedigar, Probation Officer, Alameda County, chairman.

*Sacramento* A minister, backed by the city manager, the police and other departments and agencies, took the lead in organizing this council in 1934. For two years it was divided into two sections, an official group and a citizen group, the latter including social workers from private agencies and representatives of citizens' organizations. Recently these two sections have been merged.

Horace Witbeck, Juvenile Police Officer, secretary.

*San Diego County* Since November, 1935, two councils have been organized in the city of San Diego and eleven councils in the outlying county. They are sponsored by the probation department and the juvenile court, one probation officer giving full time to this work.

John R. Lyons, director of coordinating councils, San Diego County Probation Office, 559 Spreckles Theatre Building.

*San Francisco* A central executive council made up of representatives of nine city and county departments and three representatives selected by the community chest was formed in 1931 following a study of a delinquency area by the city recreation department. Three district councils have been formed by the central group.

Phoebe Matthews, executive secretary of coordinating councils, 1145 Mason Street.

Other councils in California are in: Alameda, Bakersfield, Chico, Chino, Downieville, El Centro, Fort Bragg, Gridley, Oroville, Paso Robles, Randsburg, Red Bluff, Riverside, Salinas, Santa Ana, Santa Inez, San Jose, San Luis Obispo, Santa Maria, Santa Paula, Santa Rosa, Stockton, Taft and Upland.

CONNECTICUT *Hartford* A neighborhood unit in the Lawrence Street area was organized in 1935 by the

council of social agencies in cooperation with Mitchell House.

Catherine A. Burr, Headworker, Mitchell House, 36-38 Lawrence Street, district secretary.

*New Haven* District service committees were organized in three wards in 1935, sponsored by Farnam House, in cooperation with the Council of Social Agencies.

Robert M. Heininger, director, Farnam Community House, 198 Hamilton Street.

**ILLINOIS** So far as we know Illinois is the first state and the only state to sponsor officially a delinquency prevention program through community organization. In 1930 a Big Brothers' Committee was organized in Peoria. Later the Big Brother and Big Sister Association of Illinois was organized and incorporated and local committees are now functioning in seventeen cities, including Rockford, Waukegan, Bloomington, Danville, East St. Louis, Evanston, Harrisburg and Peoria. The State Department of Public Welfare sponsors this work and provides the services of the state sociologist to assist local committees. Charters are issued by the department to committees fulfilling requirements. These committees carry on a broader program than their name would indicate. In addition to typical big brother service they work in committees on education, welfare legislation, and community relations. Eighty-five of the 102 counties in the state use the services of this association.

Sam Ryerson, Jr., State Sociologist, State Department of Public Welfare, Springfield, Illinois.

*Chicago* A variety of community councils operate under different sponsorships. The Chicago Recreation Commission is cooperating with 28 district committees. The Institute for Juvenile Research, under the State De-

partment of Public Welfare, has for four years been conducting studies in community conditions and organization in several areas under the leadership of Clifford B. Shaw. Civic-professional councils are functioning in ten or fifteen districts throughout the city.

The Stock Yards Community Council organized in 1918, has recently been reorganized to function more effectively through councils for four neighborhoods, Archer Road, Bridgeport, Fuller Park, and New City. The Fuller Park council is in the area covered by the U. S. Children's Bureau Probation Project.

**KENTUCKY** *Louisville* Six neighborhood councils have been organized during the last two years by the juvenile court and probation department.

**MASSACHUSETTS** *Boston* Neighborhood Child Councils sponsored by the crime prevention committee of the Massachusetts Child Council have been organized during the last two years in South End, Roxbury, East Boston, and Charleston. This committee was formed following a study of delinquency prevention made in 1934 by the Massachusetts Civic League.

These councils are assisted by a W.P.A. project known as the Neighborhood Child Welfare Project sponsored jointly by the Massachusetts Department of Public Welfare and the Child Council, the latter organization providing supervision through its crime prevention committee.

George E. Lodgen, Director of Neighborhood Child Welfare Project, Y.M.C.A., Huntington Ave.

**MICHIGAN** *Ann Arbor* A treatment planning committee was organized in 1932 at the instigation of the president of the University of Michigan.

L. J. Carr, Director, Juvenile Delinquency Information Service, Haven Hall, University of Michigan.

*Detroit* Detroit has a unique situation with two groups of councils, under separate auspices, which operate in different areas. District councils were organized by the Council of Social Agencies in 1932. There are now four such councils functioning under a full time field worker. Early in 1935 a central committee was formed.

Ruth Jennings, Council of Social Agencies, 51 Warren Ave., West, secretary.

The second group of councils, under the name of Human Relations Councils, was organized by the judge of the juvenile court during 1935 in four sections of Detroit and in Lincoln and Highland Parks.

For information address Arthur G-T. Courteau, Probation Department, Juvenile Court.

*Port Huron* A council not sponsored by any one agency was organized in May, 1934, by a group from several organizations following a lecture on character education.

Florence V. Essery, Instructor in Sociology, Port Huron Junior College, president.

*Saginaw* A council was organized in May, 1934, by the Child Health and Protection Council, sponsored by the Saginaw Welfare League.

Clifford S. Borden, Saginaw Welfare League, executive secretary.

Other Michigan cities with councils are Cadillac, Kalamazoo, Midland, Ypsilanti.

**NEW HAMPSHIRE** The New Hampshire Association for Preventing Juvenile Delinquency was organized in March, 1936, at a meeting called by Governor Bridges. The first meeting of the board of directors was held in the governor's chambers.

Burt Cooper, Rochester, chairman.

*Rochester* A coordinating council was formed in May, 1936, by the secretary of the New Hampshire Probation Service, M. Arthur Myers.

**NEW JERSEY** *Madison* The Social Planning Council, including two representatives from every organization in Madison, was organized in 1928 following a youth survey made at the request of the boys' work council of the Rotary Club. The present supervising principal of the public schools has been chairman continuously. This is one of the oldest and most complete organizations of its kind in the country. A county council has recently been formed.

Harry A. Wann, Supervising Principal, Madison Public Schools, chairman.

**NEW YORK** *Hastings-on-Hudson* The Community Service Council was organized in July, 1935, with the official and financial backing of the town government. This council administers a budget of \$6,000.

Henry Israel, National Council of Y.M.C.A., 347 Madison Avenue, New York City, chairman.

*New York City* Thirteen regional councils of social agencies are sponsored by the Welfare Council of New York City. The Lower West Side Council of Social Agencies has for the past four years carried on a particularly aggressive program for the prevention of delinquency and crime under the leadership of Frederic M. Thrasher of New York University.

Since December 1935, the Crime Prevention Bureau of the Police Department has been organizing neighborhood councils in one hundred and fifteen districts of the city.

*Rochester* A committee of thirty-five people is at work studying the coordinating council plan. A sub-

committee, with the judge of the children's court as chairman, has been appointed to organize neighborhood councils in two districts as an experiment.

Chester C. Bennett, Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, 168 Plymouth Avenue, North, secretary.

*Syracuse* Steps were taken by the Welfare Council in April, 1936, toward the organization of neighborhood councils. One area has been selected for the first council.

Mrs. W. S. Murphy, Associate Secretary of the Welfare Council, 327 Montgomery Street.

*Yonkers* Since December, 1935, a group of officials, social workers, and representatives of citizens' organizations has been meeting monthly with the judge of the children's court to discuss the type of organization and program best adapted to meet their needs in delinquency prevention.

**NORTH CAROLINA** *Durham* A Coordinating Council for the Leisure Time of Youth was organized in February, 1935, by the judge of the juvenile court. A Negro coordinating council was organized in February, 1936. The first council includes representatives from both races.

Mrs. Mamie Dowd Walker, Judge of the Juvenile Court.

**OHIO** A state committee was formed and officers elected in April, 1936, following three preliminary meetings, the first held one year ago. The School of Social Administration, Ohio State University, will act as a clearing house for information.

*Cincinnati* Six groups, called youth councils, have been organized largely under the initiative of local citi-

zens or social workers. The Fort Washington council was organized in 1934, Brighton, Linwood and Oakley in 1935, and Madisonville and Mt. Auburn in 1936. The Youth Agencies Council, a city-wide organization representing forty youth agencies, acts as sponsor for the local councils.

Eric W. Gibberd, Community Chest Building, 312 West 9th Street, president of the Youth Agencies Council.

*Dayton* A coordinating council was organized in February, 1935, in the Fairview district, the director of week-day schools of religion taking the initiative. This council was organized as an experiment by a state-national committee created by the International Council of Religious Education.

Florence Martin, Director of Week Day Schools, Sunday School Council of Religious Education, Davis Building.

*Marietta* A coordinating council was organized in October, 1935, at a meeting called by the secretary of the Y.M.C.A.

*North Jackson* A council was organized in this rural district in February, 1935, by the state-national committee sponsoring the organization in Dayton. The minister of the Federated Church and the superintendent of schools are the active leaders.

**OKLAHOMA** The Juvenile Council of Oklahoma City was organized in April, 1935. The judge of the county juvenile court took the initiative at the instigation of a number of interested citizens. This is one of the few councils which has a constitution and by-laws.

Mrs. Ben Hirschland, 118½ N.W. 2nd Street, Oklahoma City, first vice president.

**OREGON** *Portland* The judge of the juvenile court, without knowledge of similar work elsewhere, took steps in January, 1933, to organize several neighborhood councils. He sought the cooperation of local citizens in a number of districts where the delinquency rate was high. These councils developed so rapidly and took so much of his time that he turned to the Council of Social Agencies for help. A part time worker was put in the field to supervise these groups and a central committee was formed.

Councils are now functioning in fourteen districts of Portland.

Faye A. Steinmetz, Council of Social Agencies, Guardian Building, director of Neighborhood Councils.

**PENNSYLVANIA** The field representative of the division of family and child welfare of the Pennsylvania State Department of Welfare has carried the news of the coordinating council plan of organization to a number of cities and has helped to organize councils.

*Germantown* A coordinating council was organized in November, 1935, by the headworker of the Germantown Settlement assisted by a representative of the State Department of Welfare.

Mrs. Florence E. Collington, Germantown Settlement, 324 High Street, secretary.

*Lancaster* The Pre-delinquency Council was organized in February, 1935, by the judge of the juvenile court. This council meets twice a month in the police department for the consideration of pre-delinquent cases.

Agnes Ferriter, Police Department, secretary.

*Philadelphia* In May, 1936, a central coordinating council was formed in the office of the mayor. The meet-

ing was attended by the mayor, representatives of the schools and other public departments, of the Crime Prevention Association, of social agencies, churches and women's clubs, and by the president judge of the municipal court.

*South Philadelphia* A coordinating council was organized in November, 1935, through the efforts of the executive director of the Crime Prevention Association, T. A. Merryweather, 1117 Pine Street.

*Pittsburgh* A number of community councils were organized in the winter of 1931-1932 in order to clear up misunderstandings between local citizens and relief agencies. Many of the councils took on permanent form after the emergency was past and have continued to serve the community, particularly the youth, in a variety of ways.

The Federation of Social Agencies has three workers assisting these councils, two in Pittsburgh and one in the county. There are thirteen councils in Pittsburgh and eleven in county territory.

Isabel P. Kennedy, Executive Secretary, Federation of Social Agencies, 519 Smithfield Street.

TENNESSEE *Knoxville* A Leisure Time Council has been organized by the Knoxville Chapter, American Association of Leisure Time Education.

*Nashville* Community welfare councils are organized in five districts under the sponsorship of the Council of Social Agencies. This work was the outgrowth in 1934 of a survey recommendation that "the leisure time section of the Council of Social Agencies and the character building agencies of the community chest work out with the board of education and the juvenile court a plan whereby juvenile delinquency could be reduced by provid-

ing recreational activities for those likely to become delinquent."

Walter L. Stone, Director, Research and Program Division, Council of Social Agencies, 303 Chamber of Commerce Building.

UTAH The State Committee for the Prevention of Crime through Social Education was organized in 1934 by the State Department of Education. The first recommendation in the ten point program of this committee was the organization of community councils for the guidance of youth and the prevention of crime. In January, 1935, such councils were organized in Cedar City, Salina, Richfield, Munro, and probably in other cities.

*Cache County* A county council on child health and protection was organized in 1933 sponsored by the State Juvenile Court and Probation Commission.

*Salt Lake City* A coordinating council was organized in 1935 under the sponsorship of the Council of Social Agencies.

H. L. Gee, Chief Probation Officer, chairman.

VIRGINIA *Richmond* Neighborhood councils were organized in five districts covering the entire city. This work was started in January, 1931, by the Community Recreation Association and is still sponsored by the association, with one worker in the field.

Claire McCarthy, Director, Community Recreation Association, Allison Building, 803½ East Main Street.

WASHINGTON The coordinating council idea in this state has been promoted, generally, by the Child Welfare Division of the American Legion and the Washington Congress of Parents and Teachers. They have consistently advocated this plan in conventions and other meetings in various parts of the state.

**Bellingham** This council was organized in January, 1935, by the probation officer after a talk by the judge of the juvenile court in Seattle.

Mrs. Frances Axtell, Probation Officer.

**King County Seattle** One coordinating council was organized in the university district in 1934 through the efforts of a minister. Impetus to the idea was added shortly thereafter by the joint efforts of the American Legion, the Seattle Council of Parents and Teachers, the public schools, the community fund agencies, and the judge of the juvenile court, who is now sponsoring councils throughout the county with the aid of a county advisory board. A man has been added recently to the probation staff to organize and assist coordinating councils. Three councils were organized in the city and four outside of Seattle in 1936.

Charles H. Wilson, Juvenile Court, 200 Broadway, coordinator.

**Steilacoom** The coordinating council in this village of 500 people was organized in February, 1935, by an active member of the Parent-Teacher Association, who read about this type of organization in the *Christian Science Monitor*.

Mrs. Helen Smith, Box 6, chairman.

**Tacoma** The judge of the juvenile court has assumed the leadership for coordinating councils. The first council was organized in Parkland through the leadership of a faculty member of the Lutheran college. A central guidance committee made up of representatives of civic organizations, the probation department and the sociology department of the College of Puget Sound was appointed in January, 1935.

**DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA** Two of the neighborhood councils grew out of case committees which had been

functioning for a number of years. Others were started by citizens and social workers who were concerned about conditions in their districts. A central committee was organized in May, 1935. The work is supervised by the Council of Social Agencies, a staff member giving part time. Neighborhood councils are functioning in six districts.

Mary E. Coulson, Council of Social Agencies, 1101 M Street, N.W., secretary of Neighborhood Councils.

## Report of the Advisory Committee

THE young and vigorous movement for coordinating councils, for organizing communities to prevent crime, came out of the West stimulating the East to break through the limitations of older traditional thinking. The movement attained national status when the plan was presented at the Attorney General's Conference on Crime (December, 1934) in a paper by its chief exponent, Kenyon J. Scudder, probation officer of Los Angeles County. That now famous conference then proceeded to pass a resolution endorsing this trend in community organization in the following language:

The conference recognizes that criminal careers usually originate in the early years of neglected childhood; and that the most fundamental and hopeful measures of crime prevention are those directed toward discovering the underlying factors in the delinquency of children, and strengthening and coordinating the resources of the home, the school, and the community for child training and child guidance. It commends the progress that has been made in certain states and localities in drawing together through such agencies as coordinating councils all available local forces to combat unwholesome influences upon youth. It urges state and national leadership through appropriate governmental and voluntary organizations, in fostering the development of these coordinating agencies, the provision of constructive educational, vocational and recreational opportunities for youth, and the provision of competent, skilled service to children in need of guidance and correction.

While in Washington, Mr. Scudder proposed the appointment of a volunteer committee to be known as the National Advisory Committee for Coordinating Councils. The committee was appointed, but did not meet until June, 1935, when a few members in attendance at the conferences of the National Probation Association

and the National Conference of Social Work at Montreal were brought together to discuss the movement.

Shortly afterwards, Kenneth S. Beam, director of the coordinating councils of Los Angeles, met with the Washington members of the committee. A suggestion that the National Probation Association supply a field agent for a study of councils in all parts of the country was entertained and approved.

A preliminary study of the councils in California was made by Francis H. Hiller of the Association staff. The Association then arranged to employ Mr. Beam for a six months' period on leave of absence from his position in Los Angeles. Mr. Beam began his national survey on December 1, 1935. His leave was extended and he is still employed in this work as this report goes to press.

A meeting of those members of the advisory committee who were in Los Angeles in November, 1935, was held to consult with Mr. Beam on plans for his work. A later meeting of the committee was called in Washington on March 28, 1936, at which Mr. Beam's work was discussed and the following recommendations adopted:

1. That the National Advisory Committee be continued for another year as an independent advisory committee.
2. That the following officers be elected: *chairman*, Sanford Bates, Director, Bureau of Prisons, Department of Justice, Washington; *vice-chairman*, Kenyon J. Scudder, Probation Officer, Los Angeles County; *secretary*, Charles L. Chute, Executive Director, National Probation Association.
3. That these officers be empowered to advise the present membership of the committee and the enlarged membership as the size of the committee increases.
4. That Mr. Chute and Mr. Beam be authorized to arrange a meeting of the enlarged committee in connec-

tion with the annual conference of the National Probation Association at Atlantic City.

5. That the National Probation Association be asked to continue for the present its service to the movement.

A meeting of the committee, as revised and enlarged, was held in Atlantic City on May 24th. A number of representatives of national agencies were invited to attend, also the three members of the newly appointed program committee for the 1937 conference on coordinating and neighborhood councils.

The committee discussed the resolutions just adopted at the special all-day conference held as a part of the National Probation Conference. It was voted to endorse these resolutions and to take steps to carry them into effect. The National Probation Association was also requested to assume the responsibility of calling together the heads of national organizations as recommended in the first resolution. Mr. Bates was requested to continue as chairman of the committee. Mr. Beam read a statement of policies recommended for junior chambers of commerce and similar civic organizations.

It was voted to approve and commend the method of the United States Junior Chamber of Commerce whereby this organization has encouraged its local branches to become informed regarding the coordinating council movement and to bring this information to the attention of public departments or private agencies in a position to sponsor such councils. It was also voted to leave in Mr. Beam's hands instructions regarding the steps to be taken in organizing local councils.

A revised membership of the committee is as follows:

Sanford Bates, (chairman) Director, Bureau of Prisons, Department of Justice, Washington, D. C.

Kenyon J. Scudder, (vice-chairman) Probation Officer, Los Angeles County, California

- Charles L. Chute, (secretary) Executive Director, National Probation Association, New York City
- Kenneth S. Beam, Special Field Agent, National Probation Association, New York City
- Lorenzo S. Buckley, Chairman, Juvenile Welfare Committee, U. S. Junior Chamber of Commerce, Oakland, California
- Virgil Dickson, Superintendent of Schools, Berkeley, California
- Paul D. Eddy, Executive Director, Religious Education Foundation, New York City
- William J. Ellis, Commissioner, Department of Institutions and Agencies, Trenton, New Jersey
- Dr. Norman Fenton, Director, Bureau of Juvenile Research, Claremont, California
- Sheldon Glueck, Harvard University Law School, Cambridge, Massachusetts
- Charles W. Hoffman, Judge, Domestic Relations Court, Cincinnati, Ohio
- Katharine F. Lenroot, Chief, Children's Bureau, U. S. Department of Labor, Washington, D. C.
- Justin Miller, Special Assistant to Attorney General, Department of Justice, Washington, D. C.
- Emma C. Puschner, Director, Child Welfare Division, American Legion, Indianapolis, Indiana
- Dr. George S. Stevenson, Director, Division of Community Clinics, National Committee for Mental Hygiene, New York City
- Dr. John D. Studebaker, Commissioner, Office of Education, Washington, D. C.
- Frederic M. Thrasher, School of Education, New York University, New York City
- August Vollmer, Professor of Criminology, University of California, Berkeley, California

## Selected Bibliography

### COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION FOR THE PREVENTION OF DELINQUENCY

- BEAM, KENNETH S. The coordinating council movement. Reprint from National Probation Association. Yearbook. 1935. pp. 200-213. 10c.  
A description of Los Angeles Coordinating Councils.
- BEAM, KENNETH S. The future program of coordinating councils. JI. of Juvenile Research, April, 1935, pp.104-113. See also Proceedings of the First Conference of Coordinating Councils.
- BLAKE, SAMUEL R. The acknowledgment of community responsibility for the reduction of delinquency. American Prison Association. Proceedings. 1934. pp 28-43.
- BOWLER, ALIDA C. Experiments in preventing juvenile delinquency. National Probation Association. Yearbook. 1934. pp 153-166.
- BUCKLEY, LORENZO S. Work of the Oakland Coordinating Council as a factor in child adjustment. Oakland Junior Chamber of Commerce, Financial Center Bldg., Oakland, Cal. 1935. 12p. Mimeo.
- BURK, WILLIAM, compiler. Youth's new day. Lions Club, Los Angeles, Cal. 1935. 95 p. 50c. *Out of print.*  
A hand book for Coordinating Council members in Los Angeles.
- CARR, LOWELL J. Organizing to reduce delinquency. University of Michigan, Juvenile Delinquency Information Service, Ann Arbor, Mich. 1936. 62p. 25c.
- THE CHURCH IN COORDINATION WITH COMMUNITY AGENCIES. International Council of Religious Education, 100 E. 42nd St., New York, N. Y. 1936. 32p. Mimeo. (Proposed educational bulletin.)
- DICKSON, VIRGIL E. The beginning of coordinating councils. JI. of Juvenile Research. April, 1935. pp 94-97. See also Proceedings of the First Conference of Coordinating Councils.
- DICKSON, VIRGIL E. The Berkeley coordinating council. Mental Hygiene. July, 1929. pp 514-519.

- FENTON, NORMAN. Purposes and accomplishments of the coordinating councils. *Jl. of Juvenile Research*. April, 1935. pp. 98-103. See also *Proceedings of the First Conference of Coordinating Councils*.
- GALLAGHER, HUBERT R. Crime prevention as a municipal function. Syracuse University, Syracuse, N. Y. 1930. 66p. \$1.00.
- GLOVER, KATHERINE. [W.P.A.] Project 1-E14-15, Los Angeles. How unemployed men and women met delinquency on its own ground. *Survey*, Dec., 1935. pp. 362-63.
- GLOVER, KATHERINE. Stopping crime at its source. *Woman's Home Companion*. Sept., 1936.
- GLUECK, SHELDON and GLUECK, ELEANOR. Preventing crime. McGraw-Hill. 509 p. \$4. pp. 25-77.
- HEADING OFF CRIME AT THE SOURCE. A handbook for coordinating council workers. Lions Club, Room 101, County-City Building, Seattle, Wash. 1936. 19p. 10c.
- HEFFNER, MRS. DORA S. The Los Angeles coordinating council plan. National Probation Association. Yearbook. 1934, pp. 114-125.
- HILLER, FRANCIS H. Coordinating councils. Report of a brief study. National Probation Association, N. Y. 1935. 19p. Mimeo. 15c.  
Describes the work in several California cities.
- LENROOT, KATHARINE F. The responsibility of the community for crime prevention. American Prison Association. *Proceedings*. 1934. pp. 18-27.
- NEUMAYER, MARTIN H. The Los Angeles County Plan of Coordinating Councils. *Sociology and Social Research*. May-June, 1935. pp. 460-471.
- OTTNESS, HERMAN R. The school and the Hastings community service council. *Jl. of Educational Sociology*. Feb., 1936.
- PROCEEDINGS OF THE FIRST CONFERENCE OF COORDINATING COUNCILS OF CALIFORNIA. Reprint from *Jl. of Juvenile Research*. April, 1935. pp. 94-113. Apply National Probation Association.
- SACRAMENTO, CAL. Coordinating Council for Child Welfare. Citizens of tomorrow. Office of the city manager, 109 City Hall, Sacramento, Cal. 1935. 13p. Send postage.
- SCUDDER, KENYON J. A community organizes to prevent delinquency. *Probation*. Dec., 1933. p. 9.

- SCUDDER, KENYON J. Social aspects of crime prevention. Attorney General's Conference on Crime, Washington, D. C. 1934. 17p. Mimeo.
- SCUDDER, KENYON J. and BEAM, KENNETH S. Who is delinquent? Rotary Club of Los Angeles, Biltmore Hotel, Los Angeles, Cal. 1936. 56p. 25c.
- Description of the Los Angeles County Coordinating Councils.
- SCUDDER, KENYON J. and BEAM, KENNETH S. Why have delinquents? Rotary Club of Los Angeles, Biltmore Hotel, Los Angeles, Cal. 1933. 48p. *Out of print.*
- SHULMAN, HARRY M. Social agency coordination for crime prevention. Reprint from National Probation Association. Yearbook. 1935. pp. 214-223. 10c.
- THRASHER, FREDERIC M. The problem of crime prevention. Reprint from National Probation Association. Yearbook. 1934. pp. 6-22. 10c.
- U. S. EDUCATION, OFFICE OF. Youth—How can communities help? Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D. C. 1936. pp. 8-14. 10c.
- U. S. JUNIOR CHAMBER OF COMMERCE. Manual of the . . . committee on juvenile welfare. U. S. Junior Chamber of Commerce, Mayfair Hotel, St. Louis, Mo. 1936. 17p. Mimeo.
- VOLLMER, AUGUST. Coordinated effort to prevent crime. *Jl. of Criminal Law and Criminology*. Aug., 1928. p. 196-210.
- WAGNER, MATTHEW C. The history, organization, policies and program of the community council of the Stock Yards District of Chicago. Stock Yards Community Council, Fuller Park Field House, 46th and Princeton Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1935, 27p.
- WALKER, R. P. Plan for a coordinating council. N. J. Conference on Crime. Trenton, N. J. Abstracts of Addresses. 1935. pp. 48-55.
- WALTZ, HENRY W., JR. A community laboratory for prevention of delinquency. *Probation*. Oct., 1935. pp. 1-5.
- WALTZ, HENRY W., JR. Coordinating councils for the prevention and treatment of delinquency. Speech at Atlanta, Ga., Regional Probation Conference. National Probation Association. 1935. 14p. Mimeo.
- WALTZ, HENRY W., JR. The probation officer and community organization. National Probation Association. Yearbook. 1934. pp. 104-113.
- WANN, HARRY A. Social planning in a community. *Jl. of Educational Sociology*. April, 1936.

## II THE USE OF VOLUNTEERS

---

### The Volunteer Aids the Court

MARJORIE BELL

*Assistant Director, National Probation Association*

PROBATION, like other forms of social work, began with volunteers—men and women with a sense of social obligation, with a desire to be of service to those who suffer from social inequalities and handicaps.

About one hundred years ago, one John Augustus, a Boston cobbler, seeing in court "a ragged and wretched looking man," a common drunkard, persuaded the judge to put the man in his charge for a time. At the end of the probation period when the man was returned to court John Augustus proudly stated that, "his whole appearance was changed; no one could have believed that he was the same person." We know very little of how John Augustus worked this miracle nor the others that followed. For years he continued to take from the court men whom he thought he could redeem, and he spent so much time in caring for them that he had to work at his shoemaking at night. He visited their homes in a one-horse shay and in ten years of work he wore out two shays. It is recorded that in one year he made about 1,500 calls and received even more visits at his home. He was the first probation worker.

The century since the day of John Augustus has seen the gradual development of social work as a profession with trained and specialized workers. But the need for

the intelligent volunteer is as great as ever. In many of our best directed juvenile courts and adult probation departments throughout the country participation of the layman is a vital part of the work, a link between the supporting public and the socialized court.

How can the volunteer, the man or woman giving time and service without pay, function in a probation set up? Students in training or workers paid by other organizations cannot be considered volunteers in the true sense though the court may profit by their work. The National Probation Association, interested to learn just how work for volunteers is developing in courts throughout the country, made inquiry not long ago of the larger probation departments. The questions asked included: sources from which volunteers are recruited, methods of selection, the number of volunteers used, the kind of work assigned, the type of training and supervision given, and the success of the program. Sixty replies were received.

Some courts do not use volunteers. Twenty-five probation departments reported that they do not use volunteers. The reasons why volunteers have never been tried, or have not proved successful in these departments, are given in such phrases as these:

They are not dependable and we have no control over them. That is to say, they work when they feel like it and when they do not feel like it, there is nothing done.

Volunteers from women's clubs and churches were as a whole complete failures, most of them being temperamentally unfit.

The interest of churches, service clubs, women's clubs and individuals usually slackens after contact a time or two, and the individual soon slips out from under supervision and that is the end of it.

Great zeal is manifested in the beginning, and as time passes the enthusiasm burns out. Many individuals enter the work for the thrill they get out of it.

Volunteers, with few exceptions, want the spectacular, want to do what they are not trained for, and soon droop their wings when they find it is drudgery.

Both groups petered out and finally ceased to function entirely.

I have had no success and feel that the time used to instruct volunteer workers could more properly be used directly with the individual probationer.

Not sufficient service to justify the time necessary for their training and supervision.

Unsatisfactory, did not understand our relations with other social agencies and disclosed information which was strictly confidential. Took too long a period to train a volunteer.

The volunteer worker must of necessity give his own personal affairs precedence over his volunteer social service efforts, thereby reducing his efforts to an absolute minimum. I feel that the introduction of an untrained worker to any office necessarily reduces the standard of work in that office.

Two departments report that they have been fortunate enough to have an adequate number of workers on the staff so that volunteer help has not been needed. Refusal to use volunteers because such use may affect the budget allowed to the department is expressed by two probation heads. One writes:

I am not in favor of using volunteers as probation officers because I believe probation requires a high type of officer giving full time to the job, and as long as we are willing to use volunteers the community will let us do so and will never provide an adequate staff.

The other says:

We have made it a policy in this department not to use volunteers because we have felt that their use would serve as a bar to the procurement of a sufficient number of probation officers to adequately perform the service this department has as its objective.

I have always had the feeling that fiscal bodies have been very definitely aware of the fact that probation service could

be obtained gratis through the use of volunteers, and that this has served to encourage a niggardly attitude on their part when probation budgets were submitted.

One or two departments report that they do not as a rule use volunteers but make exceptions "in rare instances where some special problem indicates that volunteer service might be a particular benefit." Where volunteers are regularly used the number ranges from one or two to as many as seventy-five a year in one department, and "several hundred in five years" mentioned by another.

### *Sources of Volunteer Service*

Where do volunteers come from? More of them apparently come to courts offering their services on their own initiative than in any other way. Churches furnish the next largest number. Clubs furnish many—service clubs like the Rotary and Kiwanis, civic groups and women's clubs. Other organizations such as the Junior League, parent-teacher associations, and veterans' organizations are sources of volunteer help. The Junior League has a committee which reviews the experience and interests of the candidates and cooperates with the court in selection. Social agencies refer some of their own volunteers to the court. In one large city there is a volunteer bureau under the council of social agencies which recruits and assigns workers after conference with the agency. Big brother and big sister organizations furnish volunteer assistance which is supervised to a varying extent by the organization itself.

Discriminating selection of individuals who are giving time to the court is not always made. Some departments seem simply to take them as they come. One officer states quite frankly, "I cannot say that we have had any method of selection." One chief selects men who are prominent

in business, and women, "usually from our better class families." Perhaps lack of care in selection accounts for a certain amount of failure.

On the other hand we note several instances where very great care in choosing volunteers is evident. Only college graduates are accepted in a western court of domestic relations, and many of these have an M.A. degree. "I have agreed to take these young people, who are college graduates," states a supervisor, "only when they are willing to take some courses at the New York School of Social Work to help them understand their jobs." In another city volunteers to be acceptable must have completed two years of college. Volunteer service should be selected on the same basis as paid service, in the opinion of one executive:

People should be carefully selected for their ability and not alone for their expressed interest. An effort should be made to impress upon the volunteer that the job needs sustained interest. Volunteers who undertake this work from a sentimental or morbid interest soon tire and do more harm to the child than any possible good that can be accomplished.

Recommendations of college professors, club leaders and others are taken into consideration by some executives. One man usually chooses only those whom he knows personally, and feels that this is why he has had considerable success.

Professional people or those in responsible public positions are chosen by one executive, but they are not usually experienced in social work as that southern area has very few who could qualify on that score. In another southern state a curious situation exists. "Volunteer commissions" or official appointments, are provided for by statute. Until recently the juvenile court law limited the number of probation officers and it was held that volunteers, though serving without pay, were included in

the total. An amendment to the law has removed this difficulty so that additional volunteers may now be appointed without interfering with the number of paid workers.

One department operates under a civil service regulation providing for volunteer deputy probation officers who serve without pay but have an allowance for expenses. Under this provision fifteen or sixteen volunteers are kept busy during the year.

After some years of experience one chief writes, "I would not now admit any to volunteer probation work who are not fully qualified by personality, reasonable education and suitable experience."

The question of permanent employment on the staff after a preliminary period of volunteer work was raised by a number of departments. Some probation chiefs reject, immediately and firmly, volunteers who have such an objective. Others consider them promising material. "The selection of volunteers became a difficult problem," states one chief, "as so many took up this work as a temporary appointment and expected to receive special consideration when an examination was held." According to another:

In every case they were interested in jobs and desired to get some experience with the hope that they could later be employed. I did not want to accept any volunteers with such an understanding.

Again:

We have constant requests from people who desire some background in order to eventually find a job as a paid employee, but such persons we constantly discourage.

To quote still another source:

We found it necessary to have a definite understanding that volunteer service did not lead to employment as probation

officer, nor would volunteering even on a full time basis be accepted as experience in an examination for probation officer.

From a different angle one chief deliberately selects volunteers from "young people considering a career in probation." In this court volunteers are expected to devote full time to the work for a specified period. One probation officer reports a volunteer who served eight months without pay, was later appointed to the department because of the success of his work. One man tries out volunteers regularly in making investigations and in supervision of some cases to see whether or not they are suitable probation officer material. Another chief regards a similar try-out period as "an opportunity to discover someone who might be suitable for appointment in case of further growth or when vacancies occur."

In a western county where a very exacting standard of selection for volunteers is set, the director seeks candidates under thirty, who are college graduates with majors in sociology, and who are interested in preparing for civil service examinations in the department. No volunteers have been accepted in this court who have not had some training in social case work, criminology or kindred subjects. By setting this standard the department has "developed some excellent probation officers who are now permanently employed."

### *Training and Supervision of Volunteers*

The success of volunteer service clearly varies with the amount of supervision given. Several probation officers comment quite frankly on their failure to secure results because of lack of such attention:

I have been using volunteers only half-heartedly for the last fifteen years. This no doubt explains why I get only about a fifty per cent favorable reaction.

We have not met with startling results with our volunteer service. One of the reasons might be that we have been unable to devote the time to organize such a service.

My training of volunteers has been erratic, just an occasional letter or conversation.

The miscellaneous groups receive but perfunctory training and the empirical approach is mostly relied upon.

Training and supervision has been extremely limited, consisting, unofficially, of stating at the conference with the volunteer just what is expected of him or her, and secondly, providing a reading list to help him understand better probation objectives and technique.

Care in training volunteers seems to repay effort. "Each one has to be trained," says one chief, "some have to be untrained before real training can take hold." In the words of another: "In return for their time I feel it is my responsibility to give careful and painstaking supervision."

Some volunteer workers in one court have taken special courses in case work from the university extension division. Here a volunteer worker is placed under the direction of a probation officer for periods ranging from three days to two weeks. Supervision is carried on by the chief probation officer. It is interesting to note in this same department the chief's comment that "very few volunteer workers have been willing to remain long enough to become proficient case workers, most of them dropping out after discovering that the work was not of a sensational nature." However, there have been some conspicuous exceptions.

In one court a course in social case work is given by the chief probation officer, and the workers are during this time placed under the older case workers. Mention has been made previously of the court where volunteers are required to take courses in a school of social work.

Visiting other courts, industrial schools, jails, penitentiaries and social agencies is part of the training of volunteers in a southern court. Volunteers in training are accepted on a more or less full time basis in one community. They make a formal application and their references are verified. They work directly under the supervising probation officer with as much time as can be given them, and their work is very slowly increased.

Many probation executives require reading and lecture courses as part of the training of volunteers. One chief bases his final selection of volunteers partly on the result of the reading period. Another finds the best success with volunteer case workers assigned to a regular member of the staff who directs the work. Volunteers are similarly assigned to a regular probation officer as aides in still another court, the officer taking entire responsibility for training with the assistance of regular conferences with the chief.

Two paragraphs from the report of a probation executive in a western county illustrate more fully the value of training volunteers:

We have trained and supervised them by assigning them to our regular officers as assistants. They are given two or three weeks to read case histories, familiarize themselves with court procedure, office routine, etc. and then have another week or two in the field with the officers before any cases are actually assigned to them. After this preliminary training, minor cases are assigned. If their work proves satisfactory, they are gradually given more serious cases and a heavier load. We require them to put in eight hours a day and will not accept less than three consecutive days work per week. We have found that less time than this is of little value to them and of no value to us.

We have been so successful with our volunteers that we strongly recommend their use. We feel that if they are carefully selected from young college graduates who cannot obtain work in the social service field because of lack of experience, if they are carefully supervised and if they are really

given case work so that they are satisfied with the experience they are obtaining, that volunteers can be made of great value to any probation department.

### *Work for the Volunteer*

Many types of service for the court and the probation department are open to the volunteer. Actual participation in court policies is reported from one city where the juvenile court has had a standing committee of volunteers who have helped to outline all of the policies of the court and to arrange for its reorganization. This committee prepared an examination, corrected the papers and was active in the selection of new staff members.

One volunteer sits in at unofficial hearings once a week, acting as secretary, taking notes and later writing up the cases and sending out notices or other communications. An experienced young man social worker in another court has been employed as administrative secretary.

Statistical and community research projects have been undertaken by volunteers under supervision in more than one city. "Gathering data on delinquency and neglect in various sections" is reported by a southern chief in a juvenile court. In a court of domestic relations a survey of 250 closed cases was made in an attempt to find out whether or not probation pays. As this court reports having only college graduates in its volunteer group, such an evaluation project should have real value. Making a base map showing the relationship of adult and juvenile delinquency with reference to census and other data, is the work of volunteers in another community.

Combining files; analyzing unofficial cases in comparison with official ones; comparing the number of children committed to institutions with those on probation in relation to type of offense; checking lapsed payments in

domestic relation cases; checking police records; verifying vital statistics, employment and residence data; collecting and tabulating statistics for department reports—these are jobs of real interest and importance to the volunteer and the court.

Simpler clerical work is often contributed. Typing of case records is done in more than one court by volunteers whose discretion can be trusted. This help sometimes comes from recent graduates of commercial schools who are glad to have the experience. In one department a young woman comes into the office four times a week to answer telephone calls, act as reception clerk and help with the filing. In another court a volunteer from the Junior League acts as general clerk. She is, as it happens, a trained social worker and therefore prepares summaries of cases in answer to out of town inquiries and compiles material for reports. She may also attend community meetings if the staff member assigned cannot get away. Other specialized professional services which volunteers have undertaken include tutoring of backward children by former teachers and giving music lessons to a gifted child.

Volunteer motor service is included in one or two departments, although it is not always successful, objection being raised in one city that such service should be paid for out of public taxes. Taking children to hospitals, clinics and institutions serves more than one purpose in one New England community. The chief probation officer finds that it not only helps "to keep awake the tie between the family and the child, but is also educational to those members of our community who have the time and interest but have very little knowledge of the institutions, sanatoria and hospitals of our state and what they are doing for children."

Simple services for children in detention homes are

often practical. Making and remodeling clothes is done in a southern city. Church services in the detention home are frequently conducted by volunteers, also recreation programs. Christmas gifts, Easter egg hunts and other special entertainments make children in institutions happier. Service to children in camps under supervision of the court is also mentioned. One probation officer speaks of "adoption" of a child in boarding school or in a boarding home by a group of volunteers, such a plan involving not only financial help for the child, but also including some element of supervision. Apparently this interest continues after the child leaves the school or home.

### *The Volunteer as a Case Worker*

The luckless individual—child or adult—haled before the bar of justice for his misdeeds, makes a powerful and dramatic human appeal. It is natural that the volunteer in court should want, more than anything else, to help the individual in trouble. Herein lies a danger which many probation directors are quick to sense.

Supervision of the individual delinquent calls for a very high degree of understanding and skill. Contacts with delinquent children and their families must be carried through with the utmost sympathy and delicacy. The best intentioned bungling may be fatal to successful rehabilitation. There are many pitfalls in these relationships which only the accumulated experience of a long succession of workers has pointed out. This heritage of experience is the chief protection of the trained probation officer.

A well-worded phrase was recently applied to the case work field as a whole, "The art of interfering in other people's business is no job for an amateur." Can the volunteer do probation case work? Opinion in the

field seems to be divided. One chief states: "We consider the actual supervision of delinquent and problem children a legal responsibility which we cannot delegate to volunteers." In the words of another: "I feel personally that it is not expedient to have volunteers assist me with the supervision of those on probation due to the fact that we are able to accomplish better results ourselves."

One executive explains his point of view in more detail:

I have always felt that the work of the probation officer is rather delicate and more or less confidential in its relationships. For this reason, I have always been reluctant to open my records to strangers. It seems to me that probation work, to be really effective, should be continuous. I do not believe that it is desirable to turn a probationer over to a volunteer probation officer for a short period and then turn him over to another one.

A critically minded probation chief says he

feels keenly about this matter, for I believe that a great deal of the criticism heaped on the social work field has been caused by untrained workers and poorly done case work. My personal opinion is that we are long past the experimental stage, and I do not hold to the theory that cobblers make good probation officers.

We find no such extreme position taken by some probation directors of long experience and high standards. A few departments use volunteers for supervision of delinquent children or adults only "for the accomplishment of specific phases of case treatment." Modifying their attitude by insistence on selection and preparation of volunteers for limited case supervision, some chiefs have expressed definite approval of the practice.

One executive says:

I find that volunteers want to step immediately into the more detailed cases and actually conduct supervision or investi-

gations on active cases. I have never felt safe in entrusting such work to a volunteer *unless he has served a satisfactory period of apprenticeship*. It has been my experience that volunteers do not like to serve such an apprenticeship.

One director declares:

There are limitations for a volunteer doing case work in the probation field. First, the work is technical; in the second place, when the case is reviewed in court the probation officer is responsible for the work done and for the first hand information which must be given to the court.

Another probation chief comments:

Volunteers have not been given the more difficult case problems for solution. It happens that our department has referred to it many minor situations which can be adjusted out of court. For the most part volunteer case workers have been assigned to this type of work. As we have no particular worker in the department who can devote sufficient time to this, we have been greatly aided by volunteers.

Mention has already been made of a large court where the preliminary training of volunteers on an eight hour a day basis is quite intensive and serves to eliminate unsatisfactory applicants. Minor cases are assigned these workers after the first training period, and the case load is gradually increased. In this department such training has as an objective employment of the candidate on the staff, and so it is not perhaps in the true sense volunteer work.

Work as case aids in some type of modified and supervised case work is quite frequently found. Big brother and big sister work is a good example of this. Such service from churches, civic clubs and women's organizations has in many cases not been sustained. In addition to the natural tendency toward deflation of interest after a burst of initial enthusiasm, there is the difficulty of adjusting supervision of the child where responsibility is divided between the probation officer and the big brother

or sister whose work is supplementary. In one department where the relationship has worked well, the chief states that the staff "regularly prepares a case study of the child who is to be referred to a big brother or big sister, characterizing and outlining personality traits, social, emotional, environmental handicaps and assets." They analyze also qualities which they seek in the adult. This preliminary study of the child is discussed with the organization head and the personality of the tentative big brother is considered in the same frank way. Such careful selection results, according to the report, in getting together a little brother and a big brother who can help one another and find kindred interests. The new relationship is discussed with both the probationer and the brother, who reports back more or less regularly regarding the progress of his charge.

A special group of veterans in a large eastern county does volunteer work, the veteran acting as the friend of the probationer. Selection of these "friends" is made by the chief probation officer.

An organization of volunteers acting as sponsors for men on probation or parole who have committed a first offense has been formed in one community in the middle-west, and is reported to be doing an excellent piece of work. About seventy business and professional men act as sponsors, taking an intensive personal interest in their clients and assisting them with employment and in other ways. This group is known as the *Love Thy Neighbor as Thyself Association*.

The experience of the federal probation service in the use of "parole advisors" to supplement the work of the probation officer in parole cases seems to have been successful in some districts and of little value in others.

A more wholehearted endorsement of the use of volunteers as aids in case work comes from a federal proba-

tion officer in an area covering half of a middle western state, who has had extensive experience in developing sponsors for his probationers. He has sometimes known them to continue their visitation and help to the client over a period of five years—long after their official connection with the probationer has ceased. Commenting on the use of volunteers, he says:

Social work has suffered more from over-professionalization and indifference to public interest than it has from loose case work. While our methods and aims should be scientific, our expression should be that of artists in living. I do not believe that probation officers or social workers have a monopoly of this art. Isn't it personality and sympathetic understanding rather than a badge or pay check which enables you to influence and help others?

If I had only fifty cases I should have at least one advisor to each client not only because of the control feature, but because the problem of the client is essentially one of human relations, of adjustment to others. Providing some favorable influences is the best insurance against unfavorable influences.

A probation head in one of our largest cities who uses volunteers almost on a quantity basis, especially in these depression years, cites as evidence of what a volunteer case worker can do, a graduate of Smith College who rendered full time service, carrying a full case load at the end of a year. In another midwestern department a volunteer case worker gave regular time for several years, asking only her carfare. She never let anything interfere with her self-imposed job.

### *Preventive Work*

In many communities volunteers are doing various types of preventive work. It is possible only to refer in passing to the growing programs of such groups as the community coordinating councils which include large numbers of volunteers or lay workers coming into the

movement individually or in groups. Many probation officers, without specifically naming these organizations, stress the importance of preventive work as part of the volunteer activities which may be sponsored by the court. Comparing this function with case work one probation chief says: "Volunteers can do a very fine piece of preventive work. I am not so sure as to the effectiveness of their work after a boy or girl has been in court once or twice."

One department sponsors probation committees of lay members in the League of Women Voters and the Federated Women's Clubs. Another chief states his experience:

We have attempted through speeches and committee work to foster community preventive work and the largest number of our volunteers have worked in this capacity. Three years ago we initiated and sponsored a better films organization which did much to arouse general interest in selecting better films. We feel that this was one of the elements which, multiplied by many in the various communities throughout the country, stimulated church action to successfully accomplish what we set out to do.

In an eastern city one man who began as a volunteer in the juvenile court expanded his work to include a "group of well trained young college men who are conducting a very interesting experiment with a number of delinquent boys in the West End." In another situation a man volunteer was assigned to work with embryo gangs, discovered through members who were haled into court. In a middlewestern community a young Italian club is used to assist in the prevention of drinking and crap shooting in an area from which many delinquents are drawn. Committees for community preventive work have been formed in several cities by a federal probation officer who has a large district. In one such community

he has a committee consisting of a Y.M.C.A. secretary, a Jewish rabbi, a Protestant minister and a Catholic priest.

A case committee for the children's court made up of twelve lay people, including three members of the League of Women Voters, grew out of a study of the local court made by the League. The interest of this committee developed further into consideration of the larger community problems evident in the individual cases. Such problems, according to the chief probation officer, include "recreational facilities, psychiatric service, slum areas, truancy, the contribution of visiting teachers and the inadequacy of our present probation staff. Our hope is, of course, that the committee will use its influence to correct some of the problems which now exist."

A Negro volunteer came into a southern court three years ago asking to assist underprivileged colored boys. His work grew until he now has an organization with over 700 boys from six to eighteen years of age enrolled. About 250 boys in this group have come from the court which this man still attends regularly, functioning to some extent as a probation officer. The boys under his care now meet in four different districts and a number of other adult leaders, including the president of one of the Negro colleges, have become interested.

Promotion work and educational publicity for the court is an important volunteer function in the mind of more than one probation director. In one department where volunteers are used "in every possible way" the actual service is considered less important than the educational publicity which the court receives through these interested people who have come to know its policies. Not only has public sentiment been created, but increased appropriations have resulted and additional workers have been provided because of this public support.

*The Volunteer Has a Leading Role*

It is evident from the foregoing registration of opinion that the intelligent citizen with time to devote to unselfish interests can find a satisfying and productive outlet in the socialized court. Many probation directors are learning by experience how the lay aid can function most effectively in their particular type of organization.

The extreme negative attitude that there is no place for the unsalaried worker, who only makes himself (or perhaps more frequently, herself) a nuisance, and clutters up the job, is fortunately rare. Refusal to admit any opportunity for the volunteer suggests a narrow vision and a profound lack of understanding of social growth in community life.

The interested layman has just as properly a part in the social work program as the social worker himself—a different part, certainly, and in no sense a duplicating one. The leadership and enthusiastic spirit of the layman serve as the connecting link between the professional group and the interested public. In volunteer workers we have men and women with a social attitude and a social conscience, who have, *on their own*, a positive and priceless contribution to make.

### III THE INDIVIDUAL APPROACH TO THE TREATMENT OF DELINQUENCY

---

#### Individual Factors in Crime Prevention and Treatment

JOHN SLAWSON  
*Executive Director,  
Jewish Board of Guardians, New York City*

IN the consideration of the experience and literature relating to efforts at crime prevention and treatment, many points of view, modes of procedure and social attitudes come to light. In some instances approaches and underlying ideas have been thought through carefully; other instances reveal biases and prejudices, and still others are indicative of bewilderment and confusion resulting generally either in coercive measures or in extreme sentimentality. In spite of the many differing points of view and unsubstantiated deductions in the field of crime treatment, some fairly crystallized concepts have gradually been evolved during the past three decades that may serve as a foundation for much improved programs.

That criminality is the result of conflict—conflict between the inner urges of man to which all of us are heir and the repressive influences necessitated by civilized living is denied by few. The degree to which there is a disbalance between these instinctual drives and the demands of cultural conformity determines the amount of criminality that the individual will express in his social

relationships. Another indisputable finding is that nearly always criminality is related to early experiences, during either childhood or early adolescence. Generally speaking, in gross characteristics the majority of offenders are apparently normal. Dr. Walter Bromberg, psychiatrist, New York Court of General Sessions, reports that among convicted adolescents sixteen to twenty years of age inclusive, 2.2 per cent were mentally defective and approximately 7 per cent possessed psychotic patterns. Recent studies in Pennsylvania, New York and New Jersey indicate that when such gross characteristics are considered in male prison populations, from two-thirds to three-quarters are presumably free from mental defect or psychosis.

Not so long ago we took refuge in the intelligence factor in our efforts to explain criminality. Carl Murchison found that the average intelligence of the criminals was just 75 per cent higher than the average score of the guards in a penitentiary he studied. This does not mean, of course, that there is not a higher rate of mental deficiency among adult criminals than in the general population, but it is futile to attribute great importance to this factor. The same conclusion can be drawn for insanity as legally defined.

We do find, however, that most delinquents and criminals are emotionally ill individuals. This element of emotional illness is especially discernible when the young delinquent is treated either in the clinic or in the institution. This illness is as real as any physical illness and is deep-seated in the delinquent and criminal. Its beginnings generally were early in life, and upon careful analysis in the treatment process it is found that in most instances it is attributable to parent-child relationships—the early experiences of children in their contact with either one or both parents. Alexander and Healy point

out that it is in this relationship that the degree of immunity towards unwholesome, external environmental influences is determined—a state resembling the immunity produced in childhood toward physical disease.

### *The Unconscious as a Determinant*

Most of these findings are accepted by serious workers and investigators in the field. There is, however, one factor basic to all of the foregoing conclusions that is accepted by too few of those who work with delinquents and criminals. I refer to the power of the unconscious as a determinant in conduct. I firmly believe that until this fact is accepted very little progress will be made in the treatment of delinquency and criminality. The realization of the operation of unconscious motivations in behavior results in the displacement of custodial and punitive attitudes by the therapeutic approach. Most students of human behavior know that the behavior patterns of early childhood, whether derived from immediate or more remote environment, are so completely internalized as to possess the strength of instincts themselves. Stealing, lying, sexual promiscuity, combative and destructive behavior are most often the results of conflicts of which the individual is unaware, or are related to patterns imbibed in early years which are as strong in their power as the instinctive drives of the individual. It is for this reason that we fail so frequently and completely in attempting to treat through coercive, authoritative or repressive methods all those who are offenders against the social order.

Much has been said about the need for change of environment in treatment. It should be remembered, however, that if we consider the emotional illness of the patient, based so frequently on conflicts in the uncon-

scious, we see how futile it is to expect positive results from merely manipulating the external environmental situation, whether it be the job, the recreational opportunity or any other external facility that is made available; success will come only in rare instances unless treatment has been accorded the individual prior to effecting this environmental change. To be sure, environment is a determinant of conduct, but once a person is addicted to misconduct by those very compelling forces that get out of his control, mere changes in his environment without treatment for his malady is akin to locking the door of the stable after the horse has been stolen. It is the failure to consider the dynamics of human behavior in treating the offender that frequently causes us to despair and to oscillate between giving him the bounties of a new environment or subjecting him to punitive measures and extreme privations.

There is a similar misconception with reference to education. Education when it is a duplication of the verbalistic, abstract type of learning to which the maladjusted person has been subjected for many years will yield no results. It needs to be therapeutic, creative, to be concretely related to experience in living, and to answer the needs produced by the specific personality illness of the individual.

We find on the basis of experience in treating delinquent behavior and problems of personality that the same symptoms frequently express very different motivations. Let us take stealing. A boy steals from his mother the exact amount that she gave his brother. Another steals only when he is disappointed with his mother's treatment of him in any situation. One may steal of course as a result of deprivation. Boys steal to gain power. Girls may steal those things which were denied them by puritanical parents. Others actually steal to satisfy the need

for punishment. Still others steal by compulsion, prompted by very deep-seated, unconscious conflicts. Kleptomania is the extreme expression of this pattern. Children may truant because they cannot compete on an equal footing with their fellow students, or as an expression of hostility to a parent, or as a defiance against authority. Some truant in order to gain prestige obtainable in the gang but denied them at home, some because of identification of the teacher with a parent to whom the child may be hostile. Sex delinquency may be due to patterns of sexual immorality imbibed from a parent or other adult in early years; it may result from a denial of much needed affection in early childhood. It may be an attempt to offset a feeling of inferiority by experiencing a temporary acceptance through sexual indulgence. Destructive behavior of the "bully" variety, may be compensation for an inner feeling of insecurity; of the "baby" variety may be due to over-indulgence in early life. It may be of the sadistic variety due to a hardening of character engendered by extreme privations in early life.

It will readily be seen from these few illustrations, selected at random from an agency dealing with delinquent and problem behavior, that to deal with specific symptoms, such as stealing, lying or aggressive behavior, as if they expressed the same conflicts and were caused by the same motivations is almost as wasteful and even hazardous as it is to treat all offenders as if they belong to a separate and distinct group in society. We speak confidently of treating the offender and not the offense. It would add greatly to the reality of our thinking, if when we said this we brought before our mind's eye the current array of official facilities for the treatment of the offender—the judge, the court, the reformatory, the penitentiary, the prison, and even probation and parole. We might

throw into this group the average run of psychiatrist attached to the official agency. More about this later.

### *Essentials of Treatment*

There are certain essentials of treatment that need be considered here even though briefly. In the first place, as Bernard Glueck so advisedly points out, "criminalism should be considered as a form of conduct subject to the same laws which apply to all other forms of conduct." Any other attitude than this must of necessity result in failure. Any attempt to look upon criminal behavior as "badness" instead of "illness" is bound to result in aggravation rather than remedy. It is this confusion in what we call the "correctional field" that makes so much of our work alien to the goals and content of social work. This does not mean, of course, that there should not be a recognition of inoperability as in the case of physical illness, with the safeguards for society that such inoperability makes necessary either through custodial or other forms of protective care. For practical purposes it may be convenient to make certain distinctions that a number of investigators have made. David Levy differentiates between delinquency which is related to direct personality difficulties and that related to neurotic mechanisms. He says:

"The fact that the patient, through the delinquent act, is solving his own emotional conflict, forms the main contrast with the dynamics of the act of delinquency resulting from pronounced personality drives. The patient whose delinquent act represents a disguised gratification of hostility to the father does not know his motives because he has rendered them unconscious. The patient whose delinquency represents an active rebellion against the father generalized into other social relationships is

merely expanding an already well formulated personality. In the case of the former, an act of stealing, for example, may represent a disguised method of bringing disgrace on the father; in the latter it follows as one of the symptoms of authority rebellion consistent with previous behavior."

Levy points out that in the case of the neurotic the treatment needs to be much more analytic than with the person exhibiting difficulty in personality relationship. Franz Alexander speaks of the "normal criminal" as one whose pattern of behavior is identified with criminal prototypes, in all probability dating back to early childhood. This type engages in criminal activity in conformity to an established pattern of conduct. Aichhorn points out the danger of treating alike those whose delinquency is a result of *too little love* in childhood and those whose antisocial behavior is the result of *too much love* in early years.

The object in treatment is to eliminate the need for symptom formations and not to treat the symptoms themselves. The basic element in treatment, regardless of type, is the establishment of a relationship that will make possible deep-seated and painful confidences and a frank and free unburdening of that which troubles or concerns the patient most. To be able to effect such a relationship one must possess the type of personality that elicits a "transference." But this is only the beginning. One needs to possess a specialized knowledge and skill for the effective utilization of the results of the relationship, the content revealed and brought forth. The person responsible for treatment must himself be free of prejudices, conflicts and hostilities that would prevent the formation of a therapeutic relationship. In the spirit of constructive criticism it should be pointed out again that if we employ these criteria, an evaluation of those now respon-

sible for the care of the delinquent and criminal would be extremely discouraging.

Treatment may take the simple form of a supportive relationship that will maintain the delinquent emotionally for the needed period until he reveals to himself his strengths and interests and thereby becomes more confident in his own capacity to function independently. In the child guidance clinic or agency dealing with problem children, the parent's attitudes constitute a very important aspect in treatment, especially insofar as they relate themselves to the parent-child relationship.

The delinquent of the overt, aggressive type who finds his antisocial conduct pleasurable and satisfying is the most difficult to treat, and thus far no adequate techniques have been developed in this country with such types and few real successes are on record. With one whose delinquent behavior is of a neurotic nature, resulting in states of anxiety, fear and guilt, considerable progress can be made with the proper approach. Again we should emphasize the importance of manipulating the environmental situation, whether it be the home, the neighborhood, the church, the job, the recreational group, in the light of the individual's ability to accept such changes as may be produced through the help of the case worker, psychiatrist, probation or parole worker. The degree to which the delinquent has been made ready to participate in that which the enriched environmental opportunity offers will largely determine the effectiveness of the new resources in modifying social attitude. Frederick H. Allen points out the need to relate giving to the strength of the person to receive.

#### *The Social Work Viewpoint*

Who is competent to participate in the treatment process of one with delinquent and criminalistic tenden-

cies? There is, of course, the case worker. The type of treatment which we have described, however, requires a specialization of skills beyond the equipment of the general case worker. A specific equipment comes from specialization in the treatment of conduct disorders. It calls for an adaptation of the general case work skills, especially those influenced by psychoanalytic thinking, to the treatment of the various forms of delinquent behavior patterns. Those who now operate in the correctional field have learned much from their daily experience with individuals suffering from conduct disorders, experience which, combined with the knowledge and skills of the generic case worker of recent training, yields a type of equipment more effective than either one alone. The generic case worker is frequently helpless when facing the realities created by delinquent behavior, and the worker in the correctional field frequently does not have the general knowledge of and training in modern case work procedure. As a matter of fact, the two fields have been long separated and will continue to be so until the schools of social work assume a responsibility for the specialized training that is required for work in the field of delinquency. As indicated previously most delinquents and criminals are neither feeble-minded nor psychotic. The psychiatrist, therefore, whose equipment is limited to the diagnosis of mental disease is of very little assistance in the treatment of disorders of conduct.

The group worker who is interested solely in mass recreation is of little worth in making group activity meaningful and therapeutic to the maladjusted personality who, either because of his aggressions or extreme shyness, does not fit into the usual organized recreational group. The general ability characterized by the capacity to establish relationships and the possession of psychologic insight which the case worker, the analytic psychi-

atrist and the group worker need to possess, should be present in all those who have any responsibility whatsoever in influencing the behavior patterns and social attitudes of offenders coming to unofficial and official agencies dealing with the problem. One realizes how utopian this statement sounds at this time.

There can be little doubt that if we take the total problem of the treatment of delinquent and criminal behavior, we are compelled to conclude that our failures have been numerous and our successes meager. In the first place, the problem of personality as such is an intricate one, and the roots of criminality are deeply imbedded in the very structure of society. In addition, there is the confusion that ensues from the legal conception of anti-social conduct, which in spite of all reform, is a punitive one, one that relates itself to badness and goodness rather than to sickness and health. In the correctional field, two thought streams are discernible, one flowing from the field of penology with its age old connotation of right and wrong, of legal responsibility for one's acts, and the other from the field of social work with its concept of psychic determinism and concern with the dynamics of personality. The former is represented in the main by the court, the judge, the reformatory, the prison; the latter by the child guidance agency, the psychiatrist, the case work and the group work agency. Frequently when these two streams meet confusion leading to contradictions in thought and action results.

The contributions from social work have been many, but it should be remembered that only recently has case work begun to concern itself with the deeper aspects of personality ills. The correctional field is beset with legal restrictions and impositions which more often than not make necessary an authoritative and coercive approach, a routinization of procedure, and a concern solely with

the symptom and not with the personality. The obstacles created by legal limitations are familiar to all. The contradictions between attempting to treat the individual and to carry out legal dicta at the same time, weaken and frequently render ineffectual a therapeutic effort. Probation and parole have stepped in as intermediary instruments between legal requirements and the needs of a treatment program. Basically the judge lacks the qualifications to participate in such a program because his legal training, his experience and frequently his temperament make it impossible for him to concern himself with the nature of the personality of the offender. Regardless of the many modifications he makes in his own attitude, he still is committed, in fact if not in form, to rules of legal evidence and procedure. These are definitely inimical to treatment efficacy.

Is it to be wondered then that many are beginning to feel that the children's court no longer has a place, that it should be replaced by more informal and less legalistic instruments, those that will serve treatment needs and not hinder them? The juvenile court by the nature of its composition becomes an inhibition to that free, frank and completely confidential relationship that must be established before the offender can rid himself of the emotional conflicts which cause his difficulty. The probation worker as a court officer faces the difficulty incident to his official connection. It may be that we shall discover the methods whereby treatment can be made possible in spite of official association with legal instruments, but, if so, it will mean that the probation and parole officers will have to be better equipped social workers and possess much finer skills than the case workers in the private agencies at the present time.

In most prisons and even reformatories the personnel is untrained. We find the prison atmosphere charged

with hostility, undercurrents of mistrust, secretiveness and suspicion. In such an atmosphere, treatment is impossible. The prison psychiatrist, we believe, is helpless in attempting to introduce the kind of service that would be effective in relieving the prisoner of his emotional conflicts, thus producing changes in his social attitude. Few reformatories today possess the personnel who create the atmosphere necessary as a basis for treatment whether it be through psychiatric or educational media.

That social work concepts are making definite inroads into the thinking of those concerned with the delinquent and criminal cannot be denied. One need only read the recent annual reports of the American Prison Association, the National Probation Association or any of the national bodies concerned with the treatment of the delinquent and criminal to discern tendencies toward improving educational and vocational training, toward psychiatric service and extension of case work, as well as concern for the broader aspects of prevention. The intake bureaus being created in children's courts as well as in family courts are contributions to that informalization which aids treatment. The adolescents' court in New York City is another illustration. Even in the courts of criminal jurisdiction for adults, such as the magistrates' courts of New York, there is an attempt at specialization that tends to bring in social work thinking and procedures, either through the participation of the unofficial social agencies in court activities, or through the creation of informal facilities within the courts themselves which increase the possibilities of individual treatment. The judges realize that their legal efforts and even their past attempts at reformation are not making inroads into the mystifying and all too frequently unconquerable area of maladjusted human personality.

*Recreation as Supplementary Treatment*

In the community, mass attempts at treatment and prevention are being made at an accelerated pace. One that has gained considerable vogue in recent years is organized recreation. It is reasoned that if opportunities are made available for wholesome leisure time activities, the energies that might be employed in destructive behavior will be consumed in recreational activities. Recreational facilities for all people, along with all other measures in the interest of a richer and fuller life, are of course contributors to mental and social health. We should add that, in addition to recreation, we should have economic security, health facilities, adequate and meaningful education, proper housing, social justice, and all other social, economic and cultural opportunities which in themselves would enrich personality and produce patterns of social conduct that would tend toward wholesome social living.

However, when recreation is utilized as an instrument in treatment of those who have personality difficulties, are potentially delinquent or have already come in conflict with the law, it can be therapeutically effective only if certain fundamental needs in treatment are met. It has already been pointed out that making available recreational facilities to those who are emotionally not ready to utilize them frequently results in fruitless effort. Those who need socialization most through participation in group activities are reached least by organized recreational facilities of a mass nature. Henry W. Waltz describes the project carried on in Chicago under the joint auspices of the United States Children's Bureau, the University of Chicago, and the Cook County Juvenile Court. A real effort was made to increase participation in organized recreation through an enlarged program in

a given area in Chicago during a three year period. There was an increase in participation from 1,000, the former figure, to 2,250 at the end of that time, out of a population in that area of 2,900 children in the age group of ten to seventeen. It is significant to note, as Mr. Waltz points out, that of the 650 children who would not participate in the organized recreational program in spite of all the efforts exerted, 280 or 43 per cent were arrested one or more times during the three year period, whereas only 97, or 4 per cent out of the 2,250 who did participate, acquired court records. Statistically one might conclude that participation in the organized recreational program resulted in the difference between the 43 per cent and the 4 per cent in police records. Actually what happened was that those who did not participate were in most need of help but were not reached and continued delinquent. Even when those with problems of personality were brought into the group, in most instances the non-conformists were eliminated.

In the Jewish Board of Guardians in New York, we have attempted the experiment of supplementing case work treatment with recreational group activities by creating specialized therapeutic situations to fit the needs of those to whom we wished to give the opportunity for socialization. Small individualized groups have been organized consisting of ten children each, selected carefully on the basis of our knowledge of them through our case work contacts. The leader is carefully selected and trained, and the children are wholeheartedly accepted by this leader. An environment conducive to the expression of freedom of activity is created by the absence of repressive rules and regulations. Ample opportunity is afforded for the use of creative materials fostering release of tension and giving the child the opportunity to discover constructive and satisfying outlets. The goal is

the re-education of the attitude of the child toward a group situation.

One of those groups of youngsters composed of highly aggressive and hostile boys was brought together by one of our better leaders. It was this group of boys who would not or could not join any of the organized recreational groups available. Their aggressions and hostilities were permitted outlets in this small group situation, and through skilful guidance, after a period of six months there appeared to be a very noticeable replacement of these aggressive and hostile attitudes by consideration for one another. They began to refer to themselves as a happy family group. We do not know to what extent this attitude will be carried over to outside situations but the combination of case work service and the specialized group experience we are hopeful will result in a process of socialization.

In New York City the Crime Prevention Bureau of the Police Department is engaging in a mass recreation program as a preventive and curative measure. Some of us are skeptical about the efficacy of this measure as a treatment process, even though increased recreational facilities for the city are always desirable. It is doubtful whether a mass program of this kind can possibly be effective in resolving emotional conflicts of those who are suffering from problems of personality. Personality maladjustment requires more subtle instruments than mass recreational opportunities. And those who already have developed these problems will probably not be reached by this mass program. In treatment through the group, as in case work, we cannot possibly sidestep the individualized approach by skilled procedures utilized by persons especially qualified to produce therapeutic group situations that will result in socialization of antisocial or unsocial children.

We are apt to talk of prevention rather loosely. If we mean by prevention changes in those fundamental factors in society that produce delinquency and criminality, we need to apply ourselves to social change of a vast nature. As practitioners, it becomes imperative in any preventive program that we limit ourselves to a specific number of objectives, and that we select these very carefully in any community. If we do not do this we are apt to dissipate our energies, for real prevention, as has already been indicated, should concern itself with initial parent-child relationships and experiences in adolescence which in turn relate themselves to the basic patterns of the social order. To the practitioner in the field of criminology, prevention and treatment become interchangeable; to the social reformer, prevention is a basic concept, a primary one and not a secondary one. When we are confronted with individuals who are ill, whose problems of personality have resulted in social conflicts, we no longer can apply broad preventive measures. We must treat them individually in terms of their personality needs integrating these needs with community resources. Mass approach to individuals already ill rarely results in success.

#### *Treatment as a Specialized Function*

From a social work point of view, a shift of society's attitude toward the criminal from a punitive to a clinical base is essential to any measure that might be adopted for cure. We vacillate between fear of the criminal and a desire to rid him of his antisocial motivations. Our fear of him results in punitive and custodial measures in the interest and protection of society, which are incompatible with an attempt to cure and socialize. On numerous occasions the suggestion has been made that there be a separation between legal and treatment responsibility,

that the judge determine guilt and those equipped with knowledge and skill in the problems of personality direct treatment. In such courts as the children's and domestic relations, it is doubtful if more than a minimum amount of judicial and legal equipment is needed. If this separation of function were tried, the judge determining guilt and a group of professionals in the psychological and social field determining and guiding treatment, a very grave responsibility would be placed upon both the community and our therapists. The community would need to provide socialized facilities for treatment. The social work ideology would have to penetrate into the heart of the prison itself. Probation and parole would be a profession for the highly skilled social work practitioner, and the reformatory would become a school of re-education, a socializing instrument and not a repressive and coercive force. Facilities for the treatment of those suffering from psychopathic and allied illnesses would have to be provided.

Most of us who have had experience with schools for delinquents know that there are some who have not responded to treatment, whose social pathology is severe, and because of this severity they have developed patterns of conduct the prognosis of which indicates very definitely serious criminality after discharge. In many of these instances, the behavior in the reformatory may be satisfactory, the hostile tendencies being repressed for the time being, but it is evident that when the delinquent is released to the outside community, there is great danger of his committing a serious crime. Yet we let these boys go because there is no available place for treatment. The tragic bathtub murder in New York City is an illustration of the consequences of lack of treatment facilities for a psychopathic personality with criminalistic tendencies.

Insofar as the therapist is concerned, the social treat-

ment of crime carries with it a grave responsibility indeed. We know too little about the treatment of conduct disorders. Too few are equipped to do such treatment. In the medical colleges, even today, only a smattering of psychiatry is taught to the students. Recently an advisory committee on psychiatric education of the National Committee for Mental Hygiene made a plea that an allotment of three to four per cent of the curriculum time in the medical school be made available for psychiatry. This is a small enough percentage when we consider the importance that a knowledge of psychiatry should have even in the practice of medicine. Few medical colleges, however, have even this provision. Most psychiatrists obtain their only training as interns in hospitals for the mentally ill, and when they are finished with their internships they know very little about conduct disorders in adults and even less about the treatment of behavior problems in children and adolescents. It is perhaps for this reason that so frequently the psychiatrist in the correctional field is unproductive.

We need real intensive research and experimentation in developing skills in the treatment of personality disorders, and properly equipped personnel before we can assume the full responsibility for treatment of the delinquent and criminal, should there be effected a separation between the legal and treatment aspects of the crime problem.

## Our Relationship with the Child

HANS WEISS

*Supervisor of Probation*

*Juvenile Court, Washington, D. C.*

**E**ACH year we get together to discuss problems which seem most vital to us in our work. In a way, these conferences are milestones which bid us pause for a moment, look back at our efforts, at our hopes, at the sum total of our work, and look forward with a sense of constant re-orientation toward more depth, more understanding and more insight. It seems significant, therefore, that one of the topics placed before us this year is the infinitely complex and delicate problem of relationship between court worker and child. Is it that we are gradually but definitely moving toward the very core of the treatment problem?

Those of us who have had an opportunity to see probation at work in various courts throughout the country are impressed by the differences in conception, the differences in philosophy, the differences in approach and in attitudes in work with the young delinquent. Reviewing these widely varying approaches to treatment, we may discern certain characteristics which reveal the direction of emphasis and the degree of responsibility accepted for the youngster's welfare.

Roughly speaking there are, I believe, three fundamental attitudes to be found on the part of courts and their workers. All of them are being displayed in the juvenile courts of today, the first two being far more widespread than the third. The beliefs and attitudes of the individual worker determine almost solely which one of these three types of probation work is adhered to.

The first type is of little or no value in terms of relationships. The youngster is met with a more or less moralistic attitude. He is told how wrong his actions were, that he must "turn over a new leaf at once" if he does not want to be "sent away," but that he will be given "another chance" if he promises "to be good." If the probation officer is exceptionally endowed with the gifts of an orator, he will draw liberally on all the resources of emotion, painting in vivid colors the inescapable fate of a Dillinger and a Karpis. Believing his harangue to have produced the desired effect, the officer permits a benevolent smile to disperse the clouds on his face, and with a hopeful and encouraging note he will send the youngster on his way to go forth, and sin no more! Because this probation officer relies exclusively on his subjective hope that the young delinquent actually will "sin no more," we may call this concept of probation the *hoping* kind of probation. The child is an individual only inasmuch as he represents "another case" which came before this particular court. His individuality in terms of a personality different from that of any other youngster has no meaning here. As one probation officer once expressed it: "They are all alike, and I treat 'em alike, except when they are 'real tough.' I feel most hopeful, though, when I can make a kid realize what he has done and when I bring tears to his eyes!"

Hope may in itself contain a sustaining power, and its strength may be felt quite positively by the young one as an encouraging force. An anxious yet trusting parent or friend may rely on this sort of hope. However, we find it endowed with such hidden powers only if it springs from a deep sense of responsibility in a person who has faith. It presupposes a rather firm and well-established relationship of long standing. We hardly need point out that the superficial and really meaningless

hope of the court worker described can not claim to be such a constructive force. As a matter of fact, the youngster is usually forgotten as soon as he leaves the court house.

### *Watchful Waiting*

The second type of probation work which was most commonly advocated during the nineteen-twenties, and which by many is still held today as the essence of true probation work, is what we should like to term the *watching* kind. The emphasis is placed on supervision. The probation officer functions as the guardian of other people's rights, holding the budding young transgressor in line. In this era of social case work and of "social and individualized treatment" of the delinquent this may sound rather crude, but one need only tour the country and listen to court workers talking to their youthful wards to discover again and again that the element of warning watchfulness is, in practice, still the prevailing conception of probation.

Here, too, we cannot speak of a relationship between court worker and child which contains any real constructive meaning. In the boy's eyes the worker is an officer of the law. If kindly, he is called a "good egg" and avoided; if stern and imposing, he is looked upon with hostility and is avoided with still greater care. From the officer's point of view the relationship is essentially a passive one. He does not feel in any sense responsible for what happens to his ward. His attitude is one of watchful waiting, and there is no positive dynamic force set to work.

Supervision can hold a deeper meaning, however. We find an indication of such a fuller meaning in a definition of probation given in one of the publications of the United States Children's Bureau in the early nineteen-twenties:

"Probation . . . may be defined as a system of treatment for the delinquent child, by means of which the child remains in his ordinary environment and to a great extent at liberty, but, throughout a probation period, is subject to the watchful care and personal influence of the agent of the court known as the probation officer." "Care" and "personal influence" suggest a wealth of possibilities embodied in the personality of the probation officer. And there, also, lie certain limitations. It depends entirely on the personality of the worker as to how far supervision will turn into constructive leadership. This deeper concept of supervision calls for a more active and a more dynamic relationship with the child. If the worker is to exercise any "personal influence," he will have to make an effort toward winning the youngster's confidence and cooperation. He will attempt to win his ward to a certain line of conduct by praise, approval or disapproval. He cannot disclaim a certain degree of responsibility as to the outcome, and hence he is trying to release positive dynamic forces. He very definitely sets out to establish a relationship which promises to keep the erring youngster on the straight and narrow path.

Supervision involves formal authority. In order to supervise, one must be on a higher plane by virtue of one's position of authority, and the one who is supervised will have to look up to this higher plane. Is it not true that very nearly all of us consider this an asset—or at least accept it as a necessary evil? A little later we shall undertake to show how this element of authority actually interferes with more refined and deeper reaching processes of treatment.

### *Leadership*

The third type of probation has given up entirely the concept of supervision. It moves wholly outside of that

province. We call it the *helping* kind of probation. The court worker no longer relies on authority. He is not especially interested in "good" or "bad" conduct. To him, behavior is the manifestation of emotional forces which are not so easy to reach. He has set himself the difficult task of helping the youngster to find himself in a perplexing world. He is working for a relationship, the keynote of which is trust and confidence in his leadership on the part of the child. He conceives his task as one of guiding the youngster toward that inner dependence which makes him more fit to meet difficult life situations and which may show him the way toward a fuller use of his capacity for worthwhile self-expression.

We cannot discuss our working relationship without mentioning very briefly what delinquent behavior means to us. Psychiatry and mental hygiene have had a most decisive influence on our thinking about the delinquent. We have come to believe that human behavior is *caused*, and that the causes are more or less complex factors which usually spring from widely different sources. Among them are the economic condition of the home, the type of neighborhood, the mental and physical equipment of the child, the social condition of the home, and last but not least, the emotional situation within the home, particularly between the child and the other members of the family. When we glance at our case load we are inclined to distinguish between the larger group of delinquents who come from obviously poor homes where the child seems to have grown into delinquency by neglect and excessive street life, and those fewer cases in which we can definitely point to some emotional conflict situation. I venture the statement that if we penetrated deeper into all of our cases we should probably find that the conflict situations are leading the procession.

May we illustrate conflict situations? Mike, a fine

looking, fifteen year old high school boy, appeared before the court for stealing a pocketbook containing \$40. The parents are simple people of good reputation, both working steadily in some factory occupation. There is a younger brother of six who does not present any particular problem. Although Mike is endowed with excellent mental equipment his school achievements are below average, and there is also some truancy. The parents speak very well of their son and are shocked over his court appearance. A personality study by the child guidance clinic brought many interesting details to light, but failed to offer any definite clues that pointed toward deeper insight into the boy's difficulties.

In the course of treatment the probation officer noticed that the boy avoided talking about his father and seemed to dislike discussing his educational future. He dismissed references to his father by remarking with a somewhat strained smile, "Oh, the old man is O.K." As to the school, he claimed he was not interested in education—in fact, he added that he was not interested in anything in particular. Gradually, the situation emerged in the course of friendly chats with the probation officer. Mike hated his father, who had always talked about "making a doctor out of him." This meant that when he wanted to play, his father made him do his home lessons. He had to sacrifice most of his good times to his father's plans which were too distant and too meaningless to make the struggle seem worth while. He hated his father still more when he discovered that his mother had to work to help make the father's ambitious dreams come true. His dislike of the whole business grew so acute that he lost all interest in school work and began to play truant. He didn't care what happened to him, and he began to steal. "Can you remember your first stealing?" asked the probation officer when he felt

the boy was in a particularly unburdening mood. A long pause, then very slowly he said with a bitter smile: "I took a quarter out of my father's pants when he was asleep, to go to the movies. Funny, I wanted to feel sorry, but somehow I felt glad. . . ." And after another pause: "It made a lot of trouble for me—oh, not the way you mean; he didn't find out. But here, inside, I kept thinking how bad I must be to feel that way." The small theft obviously gave the boy a sense of power over his father who so completely dominated his life. He went on to tell how he repeated this feat, each time with a less disguised feeling of satisfaction. The pleasurable returns led to further temptations, and when he came into court at fifteen Mike had acquired a well-developed habit of stealing and lying.

Edward was brought into court at fourteen because of a runaway escapade with other boys in a stolen car. He was the oldest of four children. His mother came from a well-to-do midwestern family. His father originated in a lower middle class eastern family. The father had been very successful in real estate, but the depression wiped out all his resources. The mother had never learned to face difficult situations and promptly returned to her parents with the children to avoid the unpleasant consequences of the crash. Two years later the family were reunited, and just recently the father has been able to get back on his feet financially. All through this experience the mother rationalized her own failure by constantly belittling the father. In this she made Edward her confidant. The marital adjustment had never been a real success, and almost from the start Edward had been the center of his mother's affection. She always interfered with all attempts at correction, and Edward developed a very hostile attitude toward his father as well as toward school. He began to run around with a

group of poor companions and turned a deaf ear to his mother's pleadings. His emotional relationship with his mother was in conflict with any other normal relationship he tried to establish. His recent behavior was an attempt to free himself from this conflict, partly by escape and partly through revolt.

Joe came before the judge at thirteen for breaking into stores with a so-called "neighborhood gang" of boys from eleven to fifteen. He came from a large family of nine children, the oldest of whom was seventeen. They were all rather bright while Joe's mental gifts were extremely meager. Because of this handicap he was the butt of many unkind remarks within the family group. Dimly he felt that he didn't "belong" and he took to excessive street life. Was it an escape to forget, or was it to get in wrongdoing a satisfaction which he could not attain otherwise? We don't know. But we do know that his conflict was one of rejection.

There is no need of further illustrations. Dr. Healy's<sup>1</sup> *Mental Conflicts and Misconduct*, Dr. Van Waters's<sup>2</sup> *Youth in Conflict*, Dr. Hartwell's<sup>3</sup> *Fifty-five Bad Boys*, and a number of other publications offer innumerable variations of the same fundamental problem of emotional maladjustment caused by conflict situations resulting in delinquent conduct. Some reveal relatively simple situations, while others are infinitely complex, stubbornly resisting the most patient process of unraveling, and very difficult of comprehension. None of them, however, lies conveniently on the surface.

With this understanding of delinquency the relationship between worker and child moves into key position

1. Healy, Wm., *Mental Conflicts and Misconduct*, (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1917).

2. Van Waters, Meriam, *Youth in Conflict*, (New York: Republic Publishing Co., 1925).

3. Hartwell, Samuel W., *Fifty-five Bad Boys*, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1931).

in treatment. Whatever we may accomplish through stimulation of interests (club activities), through school adjustments (more suitable programs), through new social relationships (new friends), or through changes in the environment (placing in a foster home or moving into a new neighborhood), cannot represent a conscious attack on the deeper lying problems so long as we have not been able to arrive at insight. By chance or shrewd intuition we may have hit upon a remedy which "turns the trick" but we cannot call it treatment in clear recognition of needs. The deeper we penetrate below the surface of behavior and behind the symptoms as expressed in actions, the more evident grows the need of insight as the gateway to treatment. In the case of Mike it is not enough to know that he had lost interest in school and that he had developed the habit of stealing and lying. We must seek for the dynamic forces which brought about this development. Joe was mentally retarded, but many mentally backward boys with as "normal" a home as his (everybody else in his family was getting along well) do not drift into delinquency. His handicap had to be interpreted in its realistic meaning to Joe—we had to find out *how he felt about it*, what it did to his soul, and how it gradually broke down his spirit. On the surface of things Edward was in no way very different from any other youngster of his age who seems to have erred in his search for adventure by running away with his "buddies" in a stolen car. It was only when we began to analyze his behavior in the light of his family background which revealed his overpowering tie to his mother and his not at all conscious struggle to free himself of this thwarting dependence, that we grew to understand this boy's real difficulties.

What is the key to the mysteries of these mental mechanisms? Our study of environment and background,

combined with a reasonably true and complete picture of the child's behavior and of his relationship with the family group, especially his parents, may furnish us with many valuable clues. But the missing link always comes from the youngster himself. We must make a sincere and patient effort to win his confidence to the point where he tells us *how he feels* about things and people. We must learn from him what his dynamic environment consists of. We should know whence the forces come that keep him shackled to a conflict situation from which he vainly tries to escape by all sorts of misconduct. And with such insight we may gradually lead him toward a more normal adjustment.

### *A Relationship of Confidence*

It was Dr. Healy who first described the attitude of the worker intent on building a relationship likely to give insight. It is an attitude which never condemns or judges, an attitude of sympathy and patience giving the impression that the worker's approach is "born of the desire to help." Since then, the successful attitude and the positive dynamic relationship with the delinquent child have been discussed illuminatingly by such writers as Dr. Van Waters, Dr. Hartwell, Virginia Robinson,<sup>1</sup> and others.

It is the consensus of opinion that such a relationship must contain two essential elements, rapport and transference. We do not wish to dwell on these psychiatric terms. I believe we can visualize them in a less technical sense in our work by thinking of *confidence* and *leadership*, although these latter terms are not identical with the psychiatric terms.

1. Robinson, Virginia P., *A Changing Psychology in Social Case Work*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1930).

How is a relationship of confidence formed between child and adult? Most youngsters in trouble are seeking relief. This holds true for the boy or girl with a pretty well developed delinquent attitude. But they have learned to distrust adults, especially those who hold a position of authority over them, and above all the probation officer. The very power that the court worker has makes them shrink from trusting, urges them to reject the worker's efforts, or drives them to rebel against any attempt at a relationship involving confidence. Yet they would like to be delivered from their guilt feeling and they yearn secretly for a clear pathway to the common road of approval. The problem, however, is how thick and hardened has the crust become that prevents them from opening up, and how wisely and tactfully will the worker approach them.

If we are thoroughly filled with the attitude which Dr. Healy describes, we are not apt to blunder into the pitfalls of lecturing, sermonizing, and "giving advice." Our genuine interest in the youngster compels us to seek ways of setting him free to speak, and we turn into a patient listener. It is an art which, like all other arts, is partly gift and partly skill. Once we have succeeded in "breaking the ice" we begin to discover clues, and we may gently guide the inquiry. As insight comes to us we may be able gradually to bring insight to the child. How and to what extent we should do this depends entirely on the individual case. When Mike in the course of his talks with the probation officer began to see the true value of his father's ideals he grew less harsh in his judgment. At the same time, the father had to be won to a more real appreciation of what he had done to his son through his well-intentioned domination. In terms of practical experience he was willing, upon the probation officer's suggestion, to demonstrate his new under-

standing by letting Mike join the football team of his high school, a step which he had violently opposed. In Joe's case insight had to flow largely through the parents and an older sister, who were willing to create a different atmosphere in the home regarding Joe. We were unable to pass on to Edward much of our interpretation of his difficulties. However, we did win his cooperation to the extent that he was willing to go to a foster home over his mother's violent objections, and after a year of separation during which he had an opportunity to find himself, he made a much better adjustment in his own home.

As our insight and understanding grows the acceptance of our leadership takes place in the child. In a sense it is a question of growing security. The youngster feels that in this understanding adult he is gaining increasing support. Somehow it is getting easier for him to cope with upsetting emotions and to struggle with disturbing situations which constantly threaten his inner security.

At this crucial point what we do with this trust and how we make use of this leadership become tremendously important. In order to avoid new dependence on the part of the child we must guide it into more objective channels. We must give it color and a meaning that reaches beyond this personal relationship. It is here that we must stimulate interests and point to concrete tasks, that we must perhaps discover new activities and new friends. So many workers with delinquents act as if activities and so-called wholesome outlets in terms of recreation and companionship were *the essence of treatment*. However, these are merely tools which, although tremendously important, are nevertheless of secondary concern. It is true that occasionally such plans and activities may in time work the child out of his maladjustment. But it remains a hit-or-miss method of treatment

unless such a program is flowing organically out of a deeper insight into the child's emotional situation. And once we have successfully looked for the dynamics behind behavior, we are constantly amazed at finding so many youngsters who are seriously troubled by their personality problems. These problems are not at all conscious to them, but they *feel* that things are out of joint in their lives, that, somehow, they are being held back by obscure forces which seem to make it so very difficult for them to conform. We have seen how Mike gained satisfaction from stealing and yet was troubled and very much confused. He wished to be different but he didn't succeed, and in a way it didn't seem worth while. Once he learned to face what was taking place new strength came to him, he felt free to make use of his abilities in constructive ways and became a successful student.

Incidentally this discussion has touched also on the problem of the worker's relationship with the parents. In each of the three cases mentioned much time was spent with the parents. They too must be won toward a plan of cooperation in the child's treatment. Frequently, this is much more difficult than winning the child. Parents who are very deeply involved emotionally in their child may erect an almost insurmountable wall of obstacles toward any steps which run counter to their subconscious desires. While Mike's father was willing to face the problem of his domination, and Joe's parents saw quickly what had been happening to their boy because of his mental inadequacy, Edward's mother refused to recognize her possessive attitude toward her son. If we meet with such a situation we have to concentrate our efforts on the child. But it is absolutely essential that the parents realize the spirit in which we are working with their child even if they refuse to enter wholeheartedly into the plan of treatment.

*Ordinary and Special Cases*

Do we need to point out that treatment as conceived here takes time, a tremendous amount of time? It seems obvious enough. To what extent then, are we able to put such time and effort taking methods into practice? What does our case load (a case load which no court will ever be able to decrease substantially unless the community is willing to pay the price) permit? The only practical solution at this time seems to be a division of our cases into what we might term *ordinary probation cases* and *special treatment cases*.

The large bulk of our cases will necessarily belong to the first group where we may perform certain routine tasks as, for instance, arranging for better school adjustment; furnishing recreational outlets; effecting certain changes in the environment (moving the family into a different neighborhood or placing the child in a foster home); keeping in touch with the child at regular intervals and being well informed on his attendance and performance in school. In these cases we shall fare better if we refrain from the attitude of supervision as much as possible and adopt the attitude of helpfulness, without any special effort to dig below the surface and become involved.

Even in these cases the relationship becomes a very helpful one if the probation officer succeeds in what we might call "being accepted." The boys usually sense very quickly whether or not the probation officer is really interested in them and they have a feeling for the spirit that is being displayed toward them even though the officer may have to restrict his work to a number of superficial adjustments. One of the most important things is absolute frankness in dealing with them. It is truly surprising how deeply most boys appreciate such frank-

ness. For instance, we have adopted the practice of discussing with them, in the presence of their parents, the need of commitment to an institution where such a solution seems called for, and only in very rare cases do we find it necessary to hold the boy in the receiving home pending the final decision. In the same spirit the boys accept certain disciplinary measures such as loss of privileges, if they can clearly relate them to the acceptance of responsibility. It seems essential that they understand the meaning and process of training.

For "special treatment" we set aside a small number of cases carefully selected to do justice to our "supervisory" task as well as to the youngsters with whom we wish to enter into a deeper relationship. In all of these "special treatment" cases the child guidance clinic should be called upon for assistance and there should be a frequent exchange of views between clinic and court worker on the progress made.

How are we to select these special cases? We must confine ourselves here to a few criteria of selection. We should, of course, like to pick the most "hopeful" cases, that is, if we knew beforehand how to recognize them as such. We believe that the child's mental equipment and his parent's potential capacity for understanding should be considered. In addition, experience may have taught the probation officer that he works more successfully with outgoing, aggressive personalities, or, on the other hand, with sensitive, reserved and inhibited youngsters. Sometimes the discovery of common interests and tastes may successfully influence the selection. In other words, there are two essential elements: the human material on the one side, and on the other the type of personality make-up in child and probation officer which tends to "mix well."

Today we are just at the threshold of those deeper treatment relationships which we have discussed here. It

takes an unusually gifted and well-trained worker to attempt such treatment. It takes an understanding court to make such treatment possible at the expense of the rest of the work. We are thoroughly convinced, however, that we can hope for resurrection from such defeats as the Glueck studies show only if we are willing to climb these painstaking paths, expensive both in time and in mental effort. Perhaps we shall be rewarded by the gratifying experience of new outlooks and by the realization that in some modest way we have taken a leading part in helping a young life to expand and grow to a fuller life. It may be that some day we shall even reap that most distant-seeming reward—winning the community to a more intelligent and more humane point of view concerning crime and delinquency. Dare we hope that even then the community will be willing to pay the price for wise treatment as it is now willing to pay the price for revenge?

## Selecting Clients for the Juvenile Court

MARY A. NEARY

*Supervisor, Juvenile Court, Cleveland, Ohio*

THE juvenile court as an institution is only thirty-seven years old. We are indeed young when compared with some of the child caring agencies of the larger metropolis. A thinking and feeling Chicago group in the days of Julia Lathrop started the movement which resulted, in 1899, in the Cook County Juvenile Court and a separate place of detention for children. The movement spread rapidly throughout the United States until now we have in all but one state some form of juvenile court or special procedure for children. Have we rested more or less satisfied with the partial fulfillment of the efforts of Miss Lathrop and her group? True, we have progressed remarkably in the few years of our existence, but have we in the juvenile court field kept abreast of the social case work thinking of the day? Have we utilized the resources and the facilities which are ours for the using in this age of physical, social, and psychological consciousness? Are we aware of the present place of the court in the community and "what its future place is to be, as defined by our own ideals and leadership"?<sup>1</sup>

In this paper we do not expect to go into the case work techniques of the juvenile court. That is a lengthy and separate subject. We shall attempt to discuss the first service of the court, that of intake, on the basis of the set up in Cleveland.

Intelligent interpretation of the services of the court,

<sup>1</sup> Levy, Beatrice, *The Extent of the Intake* (The Family, Dec. 1933).

understanding of the problem, and sensitivity at the point of intake regulates the pulse of any court or any agency, not only saving time for other departments, but conserving the time and energy of the client and of other social workers. Beatrice Levy states that intake is the most important point of contact, psychologically, since it affects the agency, the client, and the community.<sup>1</sup> The client's feeling toward the court and its workers is tempered in the process of intake, and subsequent treatment is dependent upon the relationship established.

To facilitate the requirements for satisfactory intake interviews it seems at the outset that a separate department should be set up, with individual offices for the intake secretary and her clerk in order that the client may be seated and feel free to talk. There has been some movement away from separate intake departments in social agencies on the basis that departmentalizing means "wear and tear" which sterilizes the sensitivity of the intake secretary. Some agencies rotate their best workers to avoid this. The separate department seems necessary in a juvenile court, but it is possible to use court social workers, i.e., probation officers, in rotation as intake secretaries. Those chosen to rotate should have the training and personality qualifications for this position and should give evidence of success in their field work relationships.

### *The Intake Worker*

The intake person should be a trained social worker, efficient in the technique of short time interviewing, and a good listener. She needs to be a person of sympathy and understanding, sensitive not only to the expressed

1. Levy, Beatrice, *Ibid.*

needs of the client but to the needs that the client is trying to express. In any agency, and particularly in the juvenile court, she should be capable of recognizing the significance of symptomatic behavior, of appreciating the motivating factors, and of recognizing the symptoms of a far-reaching, deep-seated difficulty.

Complementing her qualifications as a social worker, and her comprehension of the functions and limitations of other agencies, the receiving secretary in the intake department needs a knowledge of the local juvenile court law in regard to dependent, neglected and delinquent children, the poor law and the residence law. Equally important, a knowledge of the services, jurisdiction, and limitations of other courts will help her in steering the client whose problem falls within another jurisdiction.

It is necessary that she be capable of evaluating the legal evidence presented by the complaining party and of deciding whether or not an affidavit can be filed or in what other manner the case should be handled. She must regard seriously the protection which the community expects against the delinquent and yet take into consideration the best interests of the child. Problems have to be evaluated quickly and accurately at this point, and the position calls for experience and sureness.

### *Intake Procedure*

In reviewing the complaints coming into a juvenile court one realizes that there are two types. First are those made by representatives of the community, i.e., the police, schools, social agencies, neighbors, and offended citizens. We might term these the extra-familial type. Second are those made by parents, relatives, and, in neglect and dependency cases, by husband or wife.

These we might term subjective because the complainants themselves are involved in the difficulty. These two types presuppose a different technique in interviewing. In the first or extra-familial type, the method used is the short interview concentrated on the immediate problem, leaving the matter of rapport and relationship with the client to be developed by the probation officer. In these cases it is the probation officer who takes the first court interview. When the board of education or a social agency registers a complaint they furnish a complete investigation and here again the client is not interviewed by the court until he is contacted by the probation officer.

It is in the subjective type of complaint that the tools and skills of the trained social worker are needed. To the court as to other public agencies comes a varied clientele, calling for a varied technique, diplomacy and balance. The intake office is often the place for the release of much hostility, due to the nature of the situation where parent or relative complains about the behavior of a child or the care given to it, or where husband and wife bitterly berate one another with accusations of non-support or infidelity. An accepting attitude on the part of the receiving secretary and an appreciation of the reality of the problem to the client will help in the release of tension and will prepare the client for case work treatment with the probation officer.

In all cases it is felt that the clearing house or social service exchange report on the family should be available to the intake secretary before she interviews the client. Time is lost on cases not cleared at the point of intake. Inefficient passing of the client from one person to another not only takes up the time of several people but may cause physical fatigue and psychological anxiety which later blocks the treatment. We offer an example.

Mrs. Evans complained about the truancy of her twelve year old son Frank, who was very annoying in school and firmly refused to attend. The father deserted two years ago. Mrs. Evans asked that Frank be interviewed. Had the intake secretary taken more time for the interview with Mrs. Evans it is possible that she would have told more about the behavior that caused Frank's maladjustment in school. Symptomatic conduct is revealing and might have assisted the intake worker in deciding on a method of procedure. As it was, the case was not cleared through the social service exchange because the charge seemed not serious. An appointment was made for an unofficial hearing. On the date set Mrs. Evans and Frank appeared. The chief probation officer heard the case and felt that because of the apparent maladjustment of the boy in his home and at school, a probation officer should supervise him until more was known. The supervisor talked to Frank and his mother, interpreting the services of the court and the work of the probation officer. After Mrs. Evans and Frank had left, the supervisor referred the case to the intake office for clearing. It was returned later with several clearings, most significant of which was the child guidance clinic. On contacting that agency it was found that they had studied Frank at the request of the relief agency active at the time. The relief agency had since closed its case. The clinic was interested in reopening their record.

Before this case reached the proper agency, the time of three people had been taken up, the intake secretary, the chief probation officer and the supervisor. What the repetition of her difficulties to three people and the necessity of repeating it to a fourth meant to the mother, is not known. Certainly the problem might have been handled with more understanding had the clinic been

called upon immediately to share their picture of the family and its needs.

In some instances it has been found that a family is known to a family case worker who is interested and anxious, if possible, to help the client make an adjustment outside of court. Perhaps a girls' bureau is active on the case of a girl whose parents or relatives term her incorrigible. Even where the police have brought a girl to court and wish to file a petition because she was found in a disreputable place or was a runaway from home, the clearings may register such agencies as the Girls' Bureau, Catholic Big Sisters, Welfare Association for Jewish Children, or the Humane Society, and the agency if contacted by the intake secretary may wish to make other plans than court action for the girl. It is also possible to withhold decision until the agency interested has conferred with the intake secretary, the child and her mother, or the police, as to the best plan.

We offer in illustration the case of Mary and Jane who were brought to court by their mother. Both girls did housework and lived at their place of employment. Their employers had nothing but the best to say for them. They both had Thursday afternoon and evening off and never failed to spend the day at home. Neither girl had a beau and they said they were not interested in boys. They gave all their wages to their mother and she returned spending money to them. The mother was a stern, matriarchal type. She had not become Americanized and permitted the girls little freedom. Mary and Jane found recreation occasionally in taking their parents to the neighborhood movie. On the particular occasion that caused the court complaint, the girls decided to go downtown to the movie. They sat through two shows and left only when the theater closed. They then "window-shopped" until they missed the last car.

Jane had some money and they went to a cheap hotel and stayed all night. There was no evidence of their having picked up any men.

Before the complainant came into the receiving office, the intake secretary found that the Catholic Big Sisters were registered among the clearings. She telephoned and found that the case was active with them and that they had recognized the need for legitimate recreation for the girls and were planning a camp period for the summer vacation and a girls' club for their night off. They did not want the girls to have a court record, because they felt that Mary and Jane would adjust to their program.

When the mother came into the receiving office she was exceedingly vindictive and bent on punishment. The girls were belligerent and much hostility was released. The intake secretary was patient and sympathetic and a good listener. To the mother, the difficulty was real and very serious. After airing her animosity, she was in a more receptive mood and could talk through to better advantage the needs of her daughters, and could see where the girls' agency had services of real value to offer. She was willing to return and cooperate with them.

We need to recognize that there are times when the punitive feeling is so intense that immediate referral to another agency or referral back to an active agency is not the best thing to do. In these cases the court has supervised unofficially until the client is ready to accept another plan. The juvenile court is the only place that many of the clients think of in their difficulty, and after talking through their resentment to a listening and sympathetic person they are ready to be referred to another agency.

A case of non-acceptance, possibly because of a puni-

tive feeling, is that of John Martin, age fourteen. John's mother came to court complaining of his very aggressive behavior toward her. To her the problem seemed to revolve around her inability to give him the amount of spending money he wanted. John stole money and jewelry from her and she had to put everything under lock and key. He was very disrespectful to her, used profane language and let the air out of her automobile tires. These things happened every week end when the mother, who is employed, was in the home. It developed during the intake interview that John was sent away to school immediately after the death of his father and that he had been kept away at school until recently. The mother kept the two girls home with her and was much attached to them. John's symptomatic behavior and the possibility of rejection on the part of the mother indicated psychiatric treatment over a long period. Consequently the intake secretary referred Mrs. Martin to the child guidance clinic. After conferring with the clinic, Mrs. Martin decided that the boy would not cooperate with them, and again she requested the court to accept the case. It is possible that the punitive agency was less of a threat to her than the child guidance clinic. It is also possible that she hoped the court would give a punishing type of treatment.

This case came to the court at the unique point of expressed hostility where the parent is ready to admit her punitive needs. When an individual is aware of her feelings it portends one of two possibilities: either she will prove not "workable" or she is at the point where she is ready to work through her feelings to a better understanding and adjustment. More raw feeling in regard to children comes to the juvenile court than to other agencies, and we are therefore in the advantageous position of helping these clients or of making a decision

as to whether, as in the above case, there are *enough positive values to keep the child in the situation.*

The need of interpreting the functions of other agencies is illustrated in another story. Mrs. Hall, maternal aunt of John and Arthur Berr, ages sixteen and nine respectively, came to juvenile court to complain that on the previous night John had come home intoxicated and that he was keeping late hours. She further related that the boys' mother had died two years ago and left the house in which the family lives to the children. A guardian was appointed but he was not attending to business. The probate court reported that the will had not yet been probated and several notices had been sent, to which the guardian failed to respond. The father, who drinks to excess, was not working and was spending the money from the rent of the upstairs suite. The house was in need of repair. Frequently little Arthur was left alone at home and was free to come in at any hour he wished. This case clearly presented a protective situation and it was referred to the local humane society which is equipped to do protective work and to take over guardianship if the findings indicate this move. The case also indicated the possible need for placement of the boys in foster homes as the aunt could not take them. Mrs. Hall had never heard of the humane society and when the services of that agency were interpreted to her she was glad to accept their help. The intake secretary telephoned the society and explained the case. They felt this case would come within their function and accepted it.

### *Dependency and Neglect Cases*

In addition to delinquency cases, some juvenile courts hear neglect and dependency cases. There is value in this procedure because one family record suffices for all

and the complete picture of the family is contained therein. The face sheet on some records tells a story in itself. It may start with neglect of minor children on the part of the father in 1926; dependency in 1928, possibly contributed to by a discouraged mother; and then as the children arrive at adolescence in 1934, the face sheet shows the beginnings of delinquency. Another advantage of the combined function is that the probation officer who handles the case has known the family through all or at least part of its difficulties and is in a much better position to evaluate the situation and make a plan for the family or child. The neglect and dependency cases can be heard in court on separate days from the delinquency cases.

In all complaints where the family has been known previously to the court, the records are drawn from the file and given to the receiving department. It is apparent how valuable the record is to the intake secretary, not only in orientation in regard to the family situation, but, where a delinquent child on probation is being charged with another delinquency, in enabling her to withhold the complainant from filing until the probation officer or his supervisor is consulted. It is then decided whether a citation shall be issued for violation of probation, in this way protecting the child from a new charge, or whether a new affidavit should be filed.

The intake secretary decides the manner in which a case shall be heard. On minor reports of annoying conduct such as playing on the railroad tracks, a letter is sent advising the parents of the complaint and asking their cooperation in correcting it. Some minor incorrigibilities and petty thefts are given to the probation officer to investigate and if the findings so indicate, the case may be unofficially placed under supervision. In these cases the child may never see the court or may visit his

worker at court only because the individual conference is desirable.

The intake secretary may decide that the complaint warrants an unofficial hearing. A letter is then sent giving the time and date of the hearing and requesting that the parties be present. Many of these unofficial cases are adjusted at the hearing or are unofficially given to a probation officer for case work and never become official. Unofficial cases of girls are reviewed by the woman referee and those of boys by the chief probation officer. The majority of neglect cases can be heard in this way and need not be made official unless one of the parties fails to cooperate. Many minor delinquencies are heard unofficially and if it is indicated, placed under supervision. It is the intake secretary who decides the method of hearing and who orders supporting affidavits on cases which are to be made official.

#### *Cooperation With Other Agencies*

The juvenile court in Cleveland has an understanding with the relief agency that all children charged with minor offenses and incorrigibilities in families which the agency is carrying on a case work basis, be referred back to it without starting a court record, and the court stands ready to offer its services on request of the agency if the child fails to adjust. The court also has an adolescent boy and girl committee composed of the case supervisors of the children's and family agencies. This committee meets once a month to study the court intake in this adolescent group, and to make recommendations and place responsibility for case work according to the limitations and services of the agencies. Another committee, called the policy committee, composed of the case supervisors of the child placing agencies is also active. They discuss pending placements of delinquent

and dependent children in which there is some question as to what agency should assume the responsibility of placing the children in foster homes.

If the juvenile court is to function effectively and for the best interests of the child and his parent, this close cooperation with the family and child caring agencies is necessary. When more time is given to sifting cases through an intake department, when there is more intelligent understanding of the symptoms and motivating causes of behavior, and when there is greater use of the preventive agencies, the number of cases for the court will be reduced and those accepted can be more adequately treated in the probation department.

The juvenile court is an institution to which the people of the community turn in times of difficulty with their children. Many of them know nothing of the other agencies. It is a place where they expect service ranging from simple advice to positive court action. It is the institution to which all the social agencies look for assistance in carrying through a social plan. It is the agency through which the community expects protection from the antisocial child, and from which the understanding citizen expects intelligent handling of children.

The juvenile court is not a preventive agency except in its function of supervision of the child in an effort to forestall further delinquency and to effect an adjustment at the point where the child receives court care. It can, however, be preventive in its interest in the other members of the family who are not known to the court for delinquency. In supervising the delinquent the probation officer cannot divorce the other members of the family who have so dynamic an influence on the child's responses. The probation officer can be influential in the prevention of delinquency in his district by an awareness of the patterns and gangs in the neighborhood, and

by the ability to utilize neighborhood resources in the interest of the adolescent youth and his needs.

Perhaps the program of intake outlined in this paper will be considered impracticable for smaller communities. Is it not true, however, that intake in a juvenile court is much the same no matter how large or small the community? The problems and the causative factors are similar the world over; the difference lies in the volume. Surely the smaller communities with their smaller case loads are in position to do an understanding, intelligent piece of work providing they have qualified people and standards accepted in recognized case working agencies. The smaller community may not have the wealth of resources available to the juvenile court of the larger city, but it is possible to use intelligently those agencies and individuals at hand and to help in creating others. Is there not a challenge to the thinking people of the community to stimulate an awareness of the needs of their growing boys and girls?

Using the clearing house; consulting the probation officer active on the case; contacting agencies equipped to handle certain problems; referring back to interested agencies in the best interest of the client; using various agencies to study the problem of intake and placing of responsibility; and most important, understanding the kind of behavior presented, the feeling back of this behavior, and the awareness of the total need picture of the client in trouble,—these are all tools available to the intake secretary to assist her in sifting the many and varied complaints that come into the juvenile court. The old fallacy that the court, because it is a public agency, must accept every complaint made to it is fast being dispelled as is also the idea that the court has no time for treatment at the time of intake.

## Case Work with the Adult Probationer

ELMER W. REEVES

*Case Supervisor, Probation Department,  
Court of General Sessions, New York City*

THE title of this paper lends itself to possible misconstruction insofar as it may unintentionally appear to set up an arbitrary differentiation between case work as practiced by probation departments, and case work by other social agencies. The only use of designations such as children's case worker, probation officer, family case worker, psychiatric case worker, is for explanatory purposes to clarify the type of problem with which the agency concerns itself. However, at this point it would be wise to recognize that probation departments have obstacles to meet which do not confront other case work agencies. The probationer does not come to us of his own volition as do the clients of other agencies, but is placed under supervision by the court. This enforced relationship and the fact that the probationer is frequently antagonistic at the inception of supervision, are difficulties which the officer must surmount.

As indicated in the report of the Milford Conference,<sup>1</sup> "Social case work deals with the human being whose capacity to organize his own normal social activities may be impaired by one or more deviations from accepted standards of normal social life. . . . The ultimate goal of social case treatment is to develop in the individual the fullest possible capacity for self maintenance in a social group. . . . Proximate goals may involve such things as restoration of health, reestablishment of kinship ties,

1. *Social Case Work, Generic and Specific*; a Report of the Milford Conference, (New York: American Association of Social Workers, 1929).

removal of educational handicaps, improvement of economic conditions; overcoming of delinquent tendencies." Although case work by the very nature of its definition involves the treatment of the family group, nevertheless of necessity, this paper will confine itself for the most part to techniques used in the direct treatment of the probationer.

The case worker must possess insight into the individuality and personal characteristics of the probationer and into the influences, the resources, and the dangers of the social environment. Concomitantly, he must be capable of influencing his subject directly through the latter's mind and emotions, and indirectly through manipulation of the social environment. These processes involve utilization of the available community resources, and plans to assist the probationer in understanding his needs and possibilities, and in developing ability to work out his own social program.

Case work philosophy should color all our contacts. However, if we bear in mind the function of case work, it is rather apparent that the actual processes are not applicable to all probationers. We are familiar with the individual whom an unusual set of circumstances has forced into delinquency. The offense may have been one which is not *malum in se* and there is practically no likelihood that the same set of circumstances will ever recur. Here is an individual who is perfectly capable of handling his own life and upon whom the officer might work irreparable injury by treating him as though he were incapable of working out his own destiny, thus impairing self-respect which is essential to any adjustment.

However, most overt antisocial acts are manifestations of inner maladjustments and it is with the resolution of these conflicts that case work must concern itself. To bring to bear palliative measures upon economic

needs and to ease environmental situations are important parts of case work. However, case work means more than getting the probationer a job or keeping him out of trouble. It involves the developing of insights and inhibitions, the changing of personality and the resolution of emotional conflicts. Probation is a specialized field and its practitioners must realize their own limits and bring to bear, when necessary, the services of other specialists. The probation officer must know exactly how far his therapy is effective. Before an impasse is reached he must be willing to seek assistance of the psychiatrist or the doctor. When probationary treatment is deemed ineffective he must be ready to ask for the individual's commitment to an institution, not with an attitude of defeat but in the frame of mind of a family practitioner who calls in a specialist when the pathology which confronts him is beyond his experience. To blindly experiment upon a human being or to observe apparent personality disintegration without bringing to bear all the resources which are available in the community is inexcusable.

Delinquents for the most part have either definite antisocial attitudes or poorly developed social concepts. The first category as a rule does not come within our province since probation is not the treatment for the habitual criminal. Our work resolves itself into determining what can be done to develop new concepts or to revise old ones. In our treatment processes care must be taken to bear in mind the cultural and social level of the individual and never to over or under estimate his potentialities.

### *Making a Diagnosis*

Obviously the proper diagnosis of the probationer's situation, his environment, his problems, material and

emotional; recognition of his main needs; and understanding of the limits of the probation officer's direct treatment processes, are the prime essentials for case work. The diagnostic process does not mean labeling objective factors, such as "probationer is lazy," or "probationer is a drunkard" but it presupposes a knowledge of the subject's heredity and the conditioning factors which motivate his predominant passions, interests and weaknesses and are the basis for his scheme of life. Diagnosis implies an analytical sifting of data, the use of relevant information and the discarding of irrelevant material. In preparing the report of the diagnosis the case worker should avoid stereotyped phrases, such as "he uses tears for effect," "he makes little effort," "he is undeserving." Such statements reveal that the diagnostician has lost his objectivity and that his analysis is colored by his own moralistic reaction to the probationer's attitudes.

The case worker should be willing to recognize that he himself develops certain prejudices as a result of the probationer's behavior. He must discard his bias as far as possible and interpret the repellant conduct in an objective unemotional manner. The surgeon does not swear at a cancerous growth, nor should the probation officer direct his anger at the manifestation of a social problem. The process of diagnosis is not static but must continue through the treatment period. The initial diagnosis should be continually revised and elaborated upon as the worker gains more emotional and factual data concerning the subject.

At the inception of supervision the relationship between the probationer and his officer is a forced one. Hence before any work can be done necessary rapport must be established. The aim and method of approach

in order to achieve this understanding is admirably summed up by Dr. Healy, who calls attention to covert mental mechanisms basically affecting attitudes and conduct. The method of unearthing this conflict according to Dr. Healy is based first on the attitude of the observer who never condemns or judges, whose approach is sympathetic and patient and gives the impression that it is born of a desire to help. The securing of confidence is essential since without it the essence of case work cannot be achieved. Although we are gradually acquiring a better knowledge of human relations, no specific method which guarantees perfect results has been devised. This in itself is a challenge to the probation officer and a test of his capacity to manipulate the factors influencing behavior.

The probationer's willingness to discuss the situation, his plans for the solution of his difficulties, his disclosure of facts, even though they may be embarrassing and self incriminatory, all indicate that the necessary rapport has been established.

The case worker must be wary to meet each personality reaction of the probationer with an off-setting attitude of his own. True flexibility of approach is that characteristic which tends to success. The officer must possess sincerity and an inexhaustible supply of patience and enthusiasm. He must control his emotions when plans go awry through some inexplicable and unforeseen action of the probationer. The seeking for causation should envelop and blot out impatience with relapses. The officer's bearing should always give the impression that he is never too tired or too busy to talk at length to the probationer. Appointments should be kept religiously. Confidence can be brought about through evidencing intelligent understanding of the health, family, social, employment and personality problems of the probationer. He can be fre-

quently reached through the establishment of rapport with some person to whom he shows an attachment. The most powerful factor in motivation of conduct and in promotion of vital growth is the leadership of a forceful and inspiring personality. The feeling of respect must be aroused in the probationer in order to insure constructive imitation.

### *Importance of the Interview*

Since the interview is the method whereby most of the information used in social case work is secured and through which most of the results are insured, this technique is of vital importance. The interview has two phases: the seeking for information and the treating of problems. It is through interviewing that the probation officer ascertains what qualities the probationer possesses upon which the new foundation can be built. He becomes aware of the subject's thinking processes and is able to find the right time to make suggestions. The probationer is given an opportunity to "talk himself out."

At the inception of the interview the probationer should be placed at ease, emotional tension being diminished by the use of inconsequential pleasantries. The officer should permit the probationer to lead the interview but at the same time not permit the interview to run away from him. Prior to the interview the officer should have definitely established in his mind exactly what the purpose is and then his task is to direct it into the desired channels through subtle suggestions. The officer should be courteous, should refuse to take offense and should do nothing to lower either his own self-respect or that of his subject. Colloquial terms, a handshake or an exchange of cigarettes, inconsequential in themselves, nevertheless frequently are the basis for a productive interview. The

officer should not be too meticulous and should not immediately raise critical issues. The probationer's plans, no matter how weird, if they are offered sincerely, should be treated as rational.

The methodology of the interview and the establishment of rapport are inextricably interwoven and in approaching these phases of case work the probation officer should bear three criteria in mind: 1. The probation officer must realize that he is dealing with an individual personality. 2. He must approach the probationer's standards of morality and ethics with tolerance, even when these codes differ from his own. 3. The probation officer must maintain an objective attitude and a detachment from personal stake in the probationer's problems.

The interview frequently has a definite treatment value of its own. The mere "talking out" of his troubles by the probationer and the release of damned up emotions is frequently therapy in itself. The interview also provides an opportunity for minimizing a sense of guilt. Officers are too prone to disregard the feeling of guilt which a large number of their probationers have, and may also misinterpret as bravado manifestations of guilt.

Normal emotions and thoughts, such as those dealing with sexual desires and the conduct they produce, frequently become exaggerated to the probationer, because, being unable to discuss them, he broods over them. Constant thinking along these lines inevitably develops personality difficulties. If the probationer is given an opportunity to release his emotions through free discussion, and if it is pointed out to him that his thoughts are normal to all individuals of his age, the problems in a number of cases will be resolved.

Giving vent to emotions is a means of lessening their

intensity. Discussing the faults of a third person with an impartial advisor who can point out underlying motives, will sometimes result in the resolution of a conflict. The expression of rage impulses gives the love impulses an opportunity to make themselves felt. Permitting the probationer to talk himself out and then acting as a monitor and advisor is one way the probation officer can give his probationer insight into conflicting emotions which the latter feels but cannot understand.

Insight may be defined as the understanding by the individual of the motivating factors behind behavior. There is justification for the belief that understanding the causes of conduct is in some cases in itself effective in forestalling recurrent deviations of the same type. However, this approach is only applicable to individuals who, when confronted by a situation, have the intellectual capacity to think before responding. When we are treating individuals who habitually respond to stimulus without much thought, it is our task to suggest responses and compensations which are more attractive than the original reaction. In considering insight a third and very important group must be understood, namely, the individuals who have built up defense mechanisms for innate inadequacies. The breaking down of this defense may strip the individual of the courage to face reality. When the mechanism does not run counter to accepted norms of life, then the client should be permitted to maintain it. If, however, the defense is deeply imbedded and manifests itself in acts which may eventually become antisocial, the case worker should recognize his own limitations and call for the assistance of a psychiatrist.

The perfunctory taking of reports is at one end of the scale in probation case work, and the practice of doing things for the probationer is at the other. Supplying

the probationer's objective needs, such as a job, relief or medical services, is important, but these services must be used as tools and not always as ends in themselves. The officer must be able to evaluate the effect which such services will have upon the probationer. He must bear in mind that the aim is always to develop those characteristics which will make the probationer self-reliant and able to administer to his own needs. We may lay ourselves open to the accusation that we make the probationer beholden to us so that he will more readily comply with the requirements of his probation.

### *Special Problems*

The case worker is frequently in a quandary as to how to make sure that a probationer will take treatment for a venereal condition. Treatment for venereal disease is often a lengthy and rigorous process. An effective cure demands the complete cooperation of the patient. How is this to be secured? By ordering him to attend a clinic, by frightening him with lurid tales of future mental and moral disintegration, by talking of social implications which to him may be nebulous, or by providing him with quasi-medical books beyond his comprehension? If we bear in mind the seriousness of the condition, it is apparent that all the above enumerated methods are specious. For an effective cure the infected person who is at liberty must be appealed to on the basis of his understanding and his emotions. The implications in his condition must be explained to him graphically in language he can understand, protection of his family must be discussed with him, and if possible with responsible members of his family. The necessity of treatment must be presented on the basis of his ambitions,

interests, loves and desires so that he will clearly realize that he himself has a personal stake in clearing up his condition. If the probationer is unable to respond to this approach and his condition becomes a menace, custodial care is the only solution.

With other physical disorders we run the risk of imposing our own ideas upon the probationer. We may insist upon tonsillectomies or herniotomies for instance, magnifying the seriousness of the condition and unwittingly suggesting a hypochondriacal attitude. Here again reason must rule, and the officer must bear in mind that a man has a right, unless his condition is a menace to the community or unless he is mentally incompetent, to control his own destiny and to decide for himself whether or not he desires to submit to operative or medical care.

There is no question that the intelligent use of authority has a definite place in the application of probationary treatment. However, it is a weapon which by its nature lends itself to abuse, and this very abuse leaves us open to the criticism that the only therapy involved in using authority is the satisfaction to the probation officer's ego. The probationer should clearly understand that the source of authority is society and that the court and the probation officer are only society's agents. The personal element in punishment should be entirely removed. There is an overwhelming danger of the probation officer's acquiring an exaggerated opinion of his importance in the scheme of the probationer's life and laying down rules without bothering to acquaint his client with the reasons for them. The logical development of this attitude is the growth in the officer of an unwillingness to temporize and an impatience with his client.

Frequently we are confronted with the violator who has apparently heeded without question all of the proba-

tion officer's specific instructions. Man is so constituted that he can be conditioned to almost anything, even to fear. If the probationer has been subjected to many idle threats, he gradually loses his respect for the entire system and comes to regard the officer as a blustering nonentity. Where compliance is based upon fear, the probationer will readily succumb to antisocial influences which promise attractive compensations. Weighing the matter, he is bound to feel that it is worth while to take a chance. Thus the officer is caught unaware since the probationer's perfunctory obedience has lulled him into a false sense of security. The probationer who will make a real adjustment is not the one who obeys blindly. The best probationer is the one who argues the pros and cons of plans and who by assisting in their formulation comes to regard them as his own.

It must be remembered that the men and women entrusted to our supervision are not robots and their docile mechanical adherence to authoritative rigid regulations is not the end of probationary treatment.

## Aiding the Adult Probationer

EDWARD J. CRAWLEY

*Chief Probation Officer, Municipal Court, Cleveland*

CASE work with adults on probation can be explained very briefly. Confronted with an overt antisocial act or evil effect, we seek to determine its cause and to remove that cause. The complicated process of determining that cause and removing it through the case worker's well developed technique and thorough knowledge of human nature, constitutes probation work as an art and a profession.

Basically case work with adults on probation does not differ from case work with any other type of socially maladjusted individuals. I mean that the ultimate object is the same, namely, realignment of the client to his proper place in society's pattern. The procedural steps are the same: investigation, diagnosis and treatment. Yet the probation officer's position as a case worker is unique. He cannot sit quietly and wait for clients to come and claim his good services. On the contrary he is plunged into the middle of a situation, and there, because the protection of society demands it, he must remain. And he remains either by force of the court's order, or by selling the probationer the idea that he has something of value to offer.

The result is that the probation officer starts with something of a disadvantage. Using "passive technique" where the offender states his own wants and problems to the probation officer is excellent. It is indeed true that "when a well-balanced relationship between offender and worker runs in the stream of therapy, it is usually found

to be successful."<sup>1</sup> But many barriers must be broken down before that happy stage is reached and in many cases it can never be reached. Yet it might almost be said that those cases where it is reached are the index of our successful cases. The probation officer who can establish rapport under these difficulties can be called well qualified.

Being cast into the middle of social disorders also has its good points. Many are the cases in which the probation officer has an *entré* where no other agency would be invited or acceptable. Opportunity is afforded to clean up situations which have infested the community for years and to which there was no other ingress. From the viewpoint of doing real, constructive service for the community the probation officer is in an enviable position.

In most probation departments there is no separate division of investigation. Consequently the probation officer's first contact with his probationer is in the role of investigator. This corresponds to the intake department of other agencies, but with this difference that the probation officer frequently has to dig up and present in open court information distinctly uncomplimentary to his client. His relationship is clouded. There is the further deterrent to a normal relationship in that the probationer under supervision realizes that his continued liberty outside of prison depends upon his satisfying his probation officer.

The question has risen whether the probation officer's duty should not end with the report of his investigation to the court, the work of rehabilitation being left for private agencies to carry on. But even if this were carried out, the work of the rehabilitating agency would be hampered by the same question of relationship.

1. Hagerly, Frank W., *The Delinquent as a Case Problem* (National Probation Association Year Book, page 50, 1935).

Nominally, rehabilitation means establishing an individual anew in his social abode, that is, returning him to his normal place in society. His return necessitates a rebuilding of his self-respect, of his feeling of social responsibility, of his place within his family; it is a rebuilding of his relationships with his proper friends, of his place in the economic order and of his spiritual ideals; it entails making him aware of his duties, his obligations and his privileges—in a word it is his restoration to his dignity as a man. All this entails working with the entire man and the factors which influence and make his personality: his home, his family, his church, his recreation, his education, his employment, his health and himself.

The function of the probation officer in this process is many-sided and varied. He must meet each situation as it arises with a controlled relationship that will enable him to carry out his two-fold purpose—restoring an ailing member to society and at the same time protecting society during the restoration process.

It is impossible to outline the various relationships and attitudes which probation officers must adopt in their varied tasks. It is easier and more accurate to state that without flexibility a probation officer is lost. It is not impossible to conceive a situation in which his duties are somewhat those of a police officer. But he is no policeman, and where necessary should impress this fact on his probationer. In one case he should be stern, in another lenient; in one case exacting, in another he should be quick to excuse. In few words, he should be all things to all men.

Who is the adult on probation? He differs from the adult not on probation by the margin of the offense which brought him to court. The adult on probation is a human being, even as we are human beings. He has a body and soul, appetites, desires, emotions, a mind to

think with and the power to choose his course of action. He loves and is loved. In a word he is the epitome of creation, a ruling member of the universe, and deserves the respect and dignity which belongs to such an individual. The measure of our lasting success with this particular individual is determined by his whole-hearted confidence in and acceptance of his probation officer. If our relationship with him is human, it will be based on the same grounds as our personal relationships in life. And if we do a good job we must be as flexible and as clever in adjustment as the statesman, the salesman or anyone else who has a bill of goods to sell. These people study their customers or clients and sell themselves, that is, confidence in themselves, before they sell their goods or services. Certainly we can be called salesmen with social adjustability as our goods. And we have a social responsibility to make the sale.

Of course there are misfits who can never be replaced in society and some who should be removed temporarily. Mental abnormalities call for definite treatment but certainly are not deserving of personal invective. The weak may be pitied but certainly not condemned. The confirmed antisocial individual should be institutionalized but not tortured. Objectivity is essential in reasoned treatment and there is no more place in treatment for soft-hearted sentimentality than there is for hard-hearted condemnation.

Let me cite a case or two which come to mind:

John, thirty-two, father of five small children, was arrested on a charge of drunkenness. The warrant was sworn to by his wife. Because of his family the judge gave him a warning and discharged him. That afternoon John was arrested again for being drunk and beating his wife. The next morning the judge referred the case to the probation department. Husband and wife were bit-

terly antagonistic toward each other. Recriminations filled the air. After considerable effort they were calmed down and an intelligible story was obtained from them. Until two years ago John had been able to provide for his family, but since then he had been unemployed. He started to drink heavily about five years ago. Thorough investigation and contact with other agencies which had known the family elicited the following information: John's wife was a poor housekeeper and a notorious gadder. Her babies interfered with her migrations and she devised the scheme of feeding the younger ones brandy at breakfast. This brought on sleep. However, there is a limit to the period which even a baby may sleep and the children were awake at night, crying and neglected. John, tired out by his hard day's labor, resented this loss of his sleep and chastised the babies, sometimes very roughly. The neighbors called in the Humane Society and accused him of cruelty to his children. He promised to be good but before the Humane Society could make a follow-up call he had moved. This happened three or four times. Then, John admitted, he found a solution. If he had three or four drinks on the way home from work he would be in more or less of a daze and would fall asleep at night and not be disturbed by the children. This solution worked for a while but as John increased the number of drinks on the way home from work and sometimes went out for a few more after supper, it became difficult for him to get down to his job on time in the morning, with the result that he lost one job after another. His wife paid little attention to his drinking until he was no longer able to bring home the pay check. Luckily John had not become a confirmed drunkard. A family agency was brought into the picture and aided the wife in developing good housekeeping habits and advised her as to methods of bringing up her children properly. The errors

of both husband and wife were explained to each and to both. The result is that John is working steadily, is not drinking and has caused no trouble for more than a year. This is a simple case of cause and effect.

It is difficult to analyze the various relationships of the probation officer in the different phases of this investigation, diagnosis and treatment. In John's case, with a basis of common sense and adaptability, the growth of experience, he built up confidence in his probationer, showed him a true picture of himself and his family set-up, and did not go into threats and condemnations.

Let me cite a negative example. Anna, twenty-two, white, was arrested and convicted of shop-lifting. Because of her youth and because it was her first arrest, the judge placed her on probation. However her recent history was not so good. She had been a prostitute; she was, at the time of her arrest, living with a man to whom she was not married, and she was a drug addict. Like most women of the streets she claimed to be a complete orphan with no living relatives. Her alternating evasions and silences made it difficult to interview her. Perhaps that was what caused her probation officer to lose patience with her, to tell her she was a hopeless wreck, and to state that the judge had been over-lenient and that she would soon be picked up again and would go to prison where she belonged. With this counsel of wisdom the girl was dismissed and told to report for another interview in three days. The probation officer overlooked the fact that she had no home to go to except that of her man friend. The girl returned in three days—but she took bichloride of mercury just before she entered the probation office.

We have all met the probation officer who pounds home his point by pounding his desk. We know and dislike the nagging probation officer, the scolder, the ser-

monizer and the professional reformer. We have met and not been impressed by the hail fellow well met variety; neither does the grouchy old fellow impress us. But he does impress us who goes about his work in an organized way, planning his steps along the lines of reasoned treatment, cheerful, interested and fully realizing the intrinsic value of the subject he is working with; realizing at the same time his own responsibility to society.

Let me quote a word picture of case work as a professional field: "Like teaching, medicine, and so many other professions, it offers a challenge to its workers and demands of entrants into its field personal qualifications of the highest order.

"It is difficult to state these qualifications in exact terms, but in general they include maturity of mind and personal poise, along with the buoyancy of youth. Probably more important than years is a knowledge of life's familiar adjustments, often called 'life experience.' Physical vigor and mental health are also important, for professional persons must be prepared to release energy in their work in a way that is possible only to persons of good physique and wholesome minds.

"The case worker should bring to the field an appreciation of people and a capacity for critical judgment, uncolored by prejudice and balanced by an ability to see beyond the apparent qualities in people to dynamic forces and latent possibilities. Open-mindedness, the ability to get things done, perseverance, and a sense of humor are also a part of the case worker's equipment. And as further tools he must bring imagination and zest for discovery to push forward the frontiers of our knowledge of human capacity."<sup>1</sup>

1. Klein, Philip, *Vocational Aspects of Family Social Work*, Page 44 (American Association of Social Workers, 1926).

## Principles and Values in Case Recording

AGNES C. SULLIVAN

*Probation Examiner, Division of Probation,  
New York State Department of Correction*

RECORDS, it has often been remarked, are simply the written account of events and experiences. They have value only insofar as they throw light on these events and experiences and thereby enable us to deal more effectively with them. It is therefore inevitable in discussing for probation service such a subject as principles and values in case recording, that the nature and function of probation itself appear to be the main topic. This I feel to be highly desirable, emphasizing as it does the intimate connection between the type of record, the quality of recording and the character of service that a probation department renders.

I can touch only briefly on some of the many aspects of probation which radiate from my special subject. Unfortunately, I am not able to answer the question as to what is the best type of case record and what is the best method of recording. It is possible that there is no *one* best type or best method but rather best types and best methods, which we must search for by experimentation—arduous perhaps, but not too random.

### *Purposes and Use of Case Records*

The particular reasons for keeping records, and the specific purposes they may serve are manifold. Primarily they are kept *for the offender or probationer* in order that his treatment may proceed systematically, purpose-

fully and with a minimum of loss to him, the probation officer and the community.

Case records serve the probationer by serving the probation officer. It is impossible for a probation officer to carry in his head a mass of detailed information about each probationer, and it is foolish if not dangerous to attempt a treatment program without accurate and specific information. The offender is entitled to be treated for his problems as they actually exist, problems which to him at least are entirely different from those of any other individual. By means of the case record this end seems more possible of attainment. The record provides a practical medium through which is kept in permanent and accessible form an account of factual data concerning the probationer, the treatment processes and techniques used to influence his behavior, and his responses to these efforts.

The case record therefore is a chart through which treatment is evaluated and clues of emerging or latent difficulties are discerned. In this chart the personality of the probationer emerges as he is observed in different situations. Proper recording serves as a check for the officer, helps him to clarify and to crystallize his own thinking, and enables him to develop perspective and goals in his work.

For the case supervisor the case record is an invaluable aid. In it are mirrored the strengths and the weaknesses of the probation officer, thus providing the supervisor with definite knowledge of the officer's training problems and hints as to the direction and guidance he most needs.

Adequately kept case records minimize loss of time and effort in the transfer of cases or the assignment of new probation officers, by insuring continuity of treatment for the probationer and by making readily available to

the new officer a record of previous work. Case records may be regarded as an account of the probation officer's stewardship which he renders both as a protection to himself and as an obligation to the community.

Furthermore, adequately kept case records contain a wealth of material for statistical and social research, so sorely needed in the probation field today. Just as carefully recorded study of their causes, progress and results, have brought tuberculosis and diphtheria under control and almost eliminated them from the category of fatal diseases, it is equally possible that more accurate knowledge of delinquency and crime will provide criteria for an objective evaluation of present day methods of dealing with offenders, so that these manifestations of a disordered society may also disappear from the category of malignancy. This will be accomplished only when case histories and treatment techniques are sufficiently recorded to provide the material for such scientific research and critical evaluation.

### *Administrative Differences*

Administratively, probation differs in the adult and juvenile courts. In the former the offender is referred to the probation department for preliminary investigation only after conviction or a plea of guilty. As a rule the adult probation department has no control over such referrals and only through the medium of the preliminary investigation may it exercise a voice in the selection of its probationers.

In a children's court, however, the probation department is in a more strategic position not only to select its probationers, but to actually control the entire intake for the court. The juvenile court was founded on the philosophy that the child is to be dealt with on the basis of

his need rather than his offense. It is in no sense a criminal court and the child is not treated as an offender against the law. The law states very specifically that the court stands "in loco parentis" and that its care is to approximate as nearly as possible the care which intelligent parents *should* give their children.

The preliminary investigation in a children's court should be made prior to the court hearing, and on the basis of its findings, further steps, including the court hearing itself, should be determined. The preliminary investigation in a children's court therefore may not only aid the court in making an intelligent disposition as the preliminary investigation in the adult court does, but it may actually determine whether or not any court action will be taken.

### *The Probation Case History*

The probation case history is the complete written account of every contact, direct or indirect, with and in behalf of the probationer from the moment he is referred to the probation department for investigation until the termination of probation, if probation is granted, or the court's disposition otherwise, if probation is not granted. The case history includes a written account of all interviews, decisions and actions taken by the probation officer in reference to the probationer. The written reports of any physical, psychological or psychiatric examinations are likewise part of the case history. This and other data related to the offender or the offense, assembled in one folder, constitute the case record.

The social case history has two major divisions:—first, the preliminary or predisposition investigation, which provides a basis for understanding the nature and implications of the problems presented by the offender;

and second, the supervision or treatment history which is an account of the probation experience subsequent to disposition.

### *The Preliminary Investigation*

The preliminary investigation has for its primary purpose understanding the offender in relation to his total situation, in order that he may be dealt with according to his particular needs, capacities and limitations rather than on the sole basis of his offense, which may be but a symptom of some underlying difficulty or maladjustment. The preliminary investigation is the major tool for sifting intake in the probation department. The more thoroughly it is made and recorded the more surely will probation be restricted to that type of individual whom it is equipped to serve.

The degree to which probation will fulfill its objectives depends in large part on the quality of the preliminary investigation, which in the last analysis is the medium through which this broad social philosophy is applied. The investigation, to be useful, must be directed toward all of the forces and factors which have helped to influence the individual and which are part of his total situation. Hastily made, poorly recorded investigations result often in unwise dispositions by the court and the consequent referral of wholly untreatable cases to the probation department. Such unsuitable material may consume so large a portion of the probation officer's time and efforts that the really treatable cases are neglected. The rehabilitative potentialities of the individuals placed on probation are major factors in determining the success or failure of probation treatment, and the probation officer and the court have a responsibility to the community to choose with discrimination the candidates for

probation. It is poor economy to skimp either in the making or recording of the preliminary investigation.

The purpose of the preliminary investigation is twofold:

1. It puts the court in a position to make a disposition based on actual knowledge of the particular needs of the offender in relation to his situation and place in the community, a disposition which will best serve the interests of all parties concerned.

2. For the probation officer, the preliminary investigation provides the data which serve as bases for initiating probation treatment, and which furnish the clues to further exploration and more complete understanding of the probationer as the relationship develops.

The preliminary investigation is primarily concerned with the social and personal history of the offender, a knowledge of which is basic to the formulation of any treatment program.

In adult courts, however, particularly those operating in states where definite sentences are mandatory for certain offenses, it is essential that special attention be given in the preliminary investigation to the nature, results, and extenuating circumstances of the immediate as well as previous offenses. In such courts the offense, by law, may take precedence over other interests in determining disposition.

### *Factors Influencing the Preliminary Investigation*

The quality of the preliminary investigation is conditioned by a variety of factors. In ascending importance, these are: the amount of time allowed for its completion; the circumstances and setting of the interviews; the use

made of the investigation by the court; the training of the probation officer.

To make an adequate preliminary investigation, a minimum period of from one to two weeks should be allowed. The time varies according to the size of the community, the case load of the probation officer, and the nature of the problem. In some instances an adequate investigation will be made within a few days, while in others more than two weeks will be required. A hurried and inadequate investigation is an injustice to the offender, the court and the community. Sufficient time must be allowed for clearance with the social service exchange and follow-up of registrations disclosed. This should be the initial step in any social investigation. Certainly, the more time allowed for collecting, correlating and interpreting available social data, the more adequate and therefore the more useful will the preliminary investigation be.

The place of the interviews and the circumstances under which they are conducted condition to a large extent the success of the investigation. Privacy is essential. The dangers of interviewing an offender in jail are obvious. The very atmosphere precludes free discussion and tends to increase tension. Not infrequently fellow inmates coach the offender in a ready-made story that throws no light on his real situation. Incarceration of a potential probationer between trial and disposition should be avoided whenever possible. Its dangers far outweigh any benefits. Since a major purpose of the preliminary investigation is the discovery of the real problems and potentialities of the offender in order that treatment based on his actual needs may be planned, the offender should be studied, if possible, in his natural surroundings.

The uncertainty as to how the preliminary investigation report will be used by the court has handicapped

probation officers in getting adequate diagnostic data from both offenders and social agencies who have sometimes had their own relationship with clients jeopardized when confidential information was thus divulged. Magistrates and judges vary in their use of the investigation record. Some read the entire report and make dispositions on the basis of its contents. Other judges do not read the report but merely ask the probation officer for an oral summary. Still others read the report but disregard its contents or recommendations. A few judges place the probation officer on the stand to read the report aloud and often to give further testimony. Some judges turn the report over to the attorneys for the defense and for the prosecution, while others read aloud to the defendant in the open courtroom the report or extracts from it, and ask him to affirm or deny certain statements.

Such procedures tend to make the preliminary investigation a tool of accusation by placing the probation officer alternately in the role of prosecutor and of defense attorney. Not only is the relationship between the probation officer and the probationer in the current case jeopardized, but such indiscriminate use of the investigation tends to limit its content to such an extent that its essential purpose is defeated.

It is important for both the court and the probation officer to realize that the investigation is not made *for the court*. Rather it is made for the *offender*, in order that those charged with his rehabilitation may be in a position intelligently to carry out their responsibility. The court happens to be the first agency to use the information, but many other agencies particularly the probation department, the correctional institution, the parole department, and other public or private welfare societies, who may later be called upon to give specialized services,

need and have a right to the preliminary investigation as a guide in their treatment programs. With this in mind it is essential that the preliminary investigation be broad in scope, specific in character, and directed toward those factors and incidents in the life of the offender, which will throw the greatest possible light on his problems and provide clues or leads for helping in his rehabilitation by whichever agency is designated.

In making the preliminary investigation the probation officer must keep in mind that he is acting as an agent or servant of the community at large. After all, the community and not the court is his employer. Such a concept implies that he must not limit the content of the investigation to that material which the court uses, or in which it is interested. Comparatively few judges have had training or experience in social work, and the majority, still unfamiliar with the implications of social case histories, are not equipped to determine their content.

Many judges who regard investigations as being made solely for the court have attempted to limit them to a meager outline of data relative to the offense. Such investigations contain little more information than was divulged at the hearing or trial and not only are useless as a guide to the treatment worker but actually give the court no additional insight into the offender. Investigations of this nature are worthless and are an extravagance which no community can afford.

The probation officer has a responsibility to interpret to the court the various purposes which the preliminary investigation serves. An intelligent judge, conscientious about the responsibilities of his office, will value and use with discretion a well-recorded investigation. The small minority of judges who find their own "intuition" sufficient to explore and evaluate offenders' problems will have to be dealt with on an individual basis. It is recom-

mended that judges of the latter type be given only extracts from the preliminary investigation—extracts limited to such material as they will use with discretion, or the divulgence of which will do little harm. In such instances the ordinary preliminary investigation should be made and recorded by the probation officer to be available for use by him, the institution or the agency designated by the court to deal with the offender. Perhaps no factor has tended more to retard the development and achievements of probation than lack of understanding on the part of some judges who have within their power the opportunity to exert such significant and far-reaching influence.

Finally, the quality, content and methodology of the preliminary investigation is determined by the competence, skill and vision of the probation officer who undertakes it. A preliminary investigation properly made and adequately recorded requires on the part of the investigating officer, technical training in the study of personality and behavior problems, a knowledge of modern case work methods of interviewing and the skill to apply them with scientific precision; an appreciation of the dignity of the human personality even when convicted of an offense against the law; the ability to express clearly, concisely, and objectively in writing the results of the investigation so that they may be available for practical use.

### *Methods of Recording*

The method of block recording is generally used for the preliminary investigation, with the data synthesized, correlated and interpreted under topical headings for ready reference. This method of recording has been found practical in the use of the investigation by the court. It has certain disadvantages for the probation officer or treatment worker who is concerned with broader

implications than just findings. In block recording, social processes, the dynamics of the interview and the sequence of events in the development of relationships are difficult to record, yet for true understanding of the personality and motivation of the probationer they are basic. Emphasis in the preliminary investigation should be on motivation and reactions rather than on purely factual data or experiences *per se*.

What an individual does can be properly evaluated only when we know his reason for doing it, and his reaction to the act. Many individuals have identical experiences yet their personalities differ, and the effect or interpretation of the same experiences differs with each individual. In this difference of reaction and interpretation lie the most potent clues to the understanding of behavior, motivation and values, a knowledge of which is indispensable to intelligent treatment.

The preliminary investigation should be recorded with a view to its practical use, and with consideration for the weight which it carries, both in determining disposition and as a guide in initiating treatment. Accuracy, honesty, objectivity and clarity characterize the well-recorded preliminary investigation. The accounts of both the investigation and the supervision processes are part and parcel of the same case history and should be filed together in chronological order.

Inasmuch as study (investigation) and treatment (supervision) are not separate and isolated phases, but are rather interlocking and even concurrent steps in the same process, it is essential that a practical type of record be developed which will facilitate the probation process. The unit case record seems to meet this need better than any type so far suggested. In the unit record all data relative to one offender is filed chronologically in one folder for ready reference.

*Supervision or Treatment*

Probation supervision or treatment is primarily planned guidance based on a careful study and analysis of the probationer's problems, capacities and limitations. The starting point in any social treatment must be the client's own evaluation of his problem. Any individual who attempts to treat another individual must first know the attitude and interpretation which the individual to be helped has toward his problem. This is obvious in probation when we realize that the probationer must be treated *in relation to* his problem, and not in isolation from it.

The probationer may exaggerate or minimize his situation, or he may have an interpretation or explanation of it which is at variance with other findings, but he gives his explanation either as he sees it, or as he wants the probation officer to see it. It is his story and he, better than any one else, is equipped to tell it. Whether his interpretation or analysis is accurate is of secondary importance at this stage. The important thing is that through the story as it comes from the probationer, the probation officer gets his most significant clues to the attitudes, values, and feelings of the individual whom he is responsible for helping, and who will be helped only as the attitudes, values, and feelings which motivate his behavior are understood and modified.

Probation treatment must be based on a careful analysis of the total situation. The probation officer acts according to the meaning of the whole particular case. Each item in that case must be interpreted in the light of the meaning of the problem as a whole. Isolated facts or experiences have significance or diagnostic value only in relation to the total stream of information and experiences.

Responses are relative and can be evaluated accurately only when one knows what produced the particular response. A probation officer should be as honest in stating his failures as in noting his successes. Such recording is essential to provide criteria for evaluating methodology as well as the results of probation.

The entire case history should be written in simple direct language with careful attention to sources of information. It should be objective and free from prejudice, personal biases, and unsupported assumptions. Instead of drawing conclusions as such, it is preferable and safer to state the situation as it is and to let the reader draw his own conclusions. This type of recording makes the record of more lasting value. New knowledge is constantly throwing light on the more obscure behavior problems.

In conclusion, let us remember that each case record is a contribution to the history and development of probation itself. Possibly one reason why probation, in comparison with other branches of case work, has been retarded in its development is the complete absence of case records in the early days and the meagerness of those of later years. There has been no really accurate and comparable basis upon which to evaluate probation to determine either its effectiveness or its scope. A profession to develop soundly needs a constant inventory in relation to its philosophy, practices and responsibilities in the light of new discoveries in the field of knowledge and the changing problems inevitable in a changing social order.

The case record provides the most tangible yardstick available for probation to measure its own achievements. In reality, the case record is the mirror through which probation sees itself as it really functions. Without recorded, concrete evidence, probation is but another hopeful theory which yet remains to be demonstrated.

## IV PSYCHIATRIC INTERPRETATION

---

### The Normal Adolescent

DOUGLAS A. THOM, M.D.

*Director, State Division*

*Mental Hygiene, Boston, Massachusetts*

**S**PANNING the gulf between childhood and adulthood comes one of the most interesting and important periods in the entire life cycle. During these intervening years the individual stretches back and clings tenaciously to the pleasures and protection of childhood with one arm, while with the other he reaches out to grasp some of the privileges and responsibilities of maturity. Obviously there is no well-defined beginning nor ending to such a period of transition; it can only merge imperceptibly with the past and the future, and serve the purpose of coordinating the training, experience, and education of the former with the actual obligations and demands of the latter.

Adolescence means in its Latin derivation, growth to maturity. Growth begins biologically and physiologically from the time of conception and should progress to some indefinite period when the process of evolution is supplanted by dissolution; so that adolescence as represented by the "teen age" is a short but very important span in the whole process of growth and development which ultimately leads to maturity.

It must be kept in mind that there are certain biological obstacles and psychological imbalances of a funda-

mental nature which prevent many individuals from reaching their desired objective, so-called maturity. With this group of individuals, handicapped by mental defect, constitutional instabilities, and psychopathic personalities, we are not primarily concerned except to point out that they represent the type which makes up no small portion of the chronic offenders in our courts known as repeaters.

At the moment our attention is directed toward that large body of normal individuals, free from inherent defects either mental or physical, to whom the family and society have an obligation. This obligation will only be fulfilled when these children are given an opportunity to acquire habits, personality traits, and mental attitudes which are so fundamentally sound that the individuals may embark upon life adequately prepared to meet disappointment and failure as well as success and approbation with some degree of assurance that their personalities will not be twisted and warped by the events of the moment. The perspective on life which the adolescent has attained will depend upon his past experiences and personal relationships. The persistence with which he struggles to attain his goal is a quality in his personality make-up which will contribute much to his ultimate success. The criterion of this success will be the happiness and the efficiency which the individual attains in making his adjustment to his environment. Such should be the aim of education in its broadest sense. Mental hygiene is but one of the tools utilized to make it a reality. Fitting the individual to make a contribution to society is an objective worthy of the best social and parental efforts. It is not sufficient to simply train boys and girls so that they will avoid social difficulties, conform to rules and regulations laid down by law, and get by in the community without trouble. Such a training has value, but it is rather sterile. From the very beginning education

should be directed toward the attainment of something which has a positive value, and the development of a plan of life which will permit the child to attain the highest possible level permitted by those inherent physical and mental attributes with which he has been endowed.

If this is to be accomplished successfully, parents, teachers and others coming in contact with children must appreciate that the time arrives when management and training must be supplanted by guidance, and the success or failure of the guidance necessarily depends upon the efficiency of the training during the pre-adolescent years. There is an implication of passivity with reference to guidance which presupposes that the individual has reached that stage of development where, by virtue of his judgment and reasoning, he will profit by his mistakes. Mistakes will be made, to be sure. This is inevitable. They may be recognized at once by the individual or it may be necessary to point them out, but the important aspect of the whole situation is that the individual who embarks, well trained, upon the so-called adolescent period, profits by his failures as well as his successes.

The parental protection which is so essential during the early years of life, must give way to guidance and interpretation. This briefly represents a mature, adult point of view toward the adolescent and at once raises the question, how if such a point of view is valid, may it be put into operation?

The topic under discussion can best be approached by considering the general problem of guiding adolescents as a group, and then the approach that should be most helpful in guiding the adolescent as an individual. This attitude is analagous to that applied to various fields in medicine—public health and sanitation are concerned with the community, and private practice with the indi-

vidual; but both approaches have many points where they come in contact and contribute much, one to the other.

### *Dividing Responsibility for Guidance*

The responsibility of guiding the adolescent is threefold: that of society; of the family; of the adolescent himself. It is the responsibility of society: to so organize its structure that adolescents as a group may enjoy both in their homes and outside, an environment on an adequate economic level compatible with clean, wholesome, comfortable living which will include something more than the absolute necessities of life; to provide, in both urban and rural communities, the advantages of an education sufficiently diversified to meet the varied needs of those who cannot profit by the ordinary educational methods; to provide healthy recreational opportunities in association with the educational program, and to safeguard the moral interests of the adolescent in relation to public and commercialized amusements such as books, the radio, the movies and all places of public entertainment (the occupation of leisure time will become an increasingly difficult problem for the adolescent from now on); to prepare the child and provide insofar as it is possible, opportunities for employment in those vocations for which the adolescent is best equipped both by training and personality (nothing is more stabilizing than work well adapted to the needs of the individual); to recognize the fact that juvenile delinquency (like the acute infections of childhood) will be with us for some time to come. Society should therefore organize clinics, courts, probation, and its institutions according to the best methods now existent in order to prevent the early and non-malignant offenders from becoming chronic, thereby spreading delinquency and developing criminals. None know better than this particular group how contagious

asocial activity, may become and how quickly epidemics of this type spread in certain communities.

It is the responsibility of parents: to provide the adolescent with patterns of conduct to follow, which are going to prove of value in his relationships outside the home—patterns of honesty, truthfulness, thoughtfulness, tolerance (religious, racial, moral) and fortitude; to provide the child with a sense of security about life, the feeling of being wanted, the desire to be respected, a standard for friendships, the need of taking a part in community activities, (here a deep-rooted sense of obligation to the family, church, school, scouts are all pillars of strength to youth growing up); to provide a philosophy of some sort about life, something vital to cling to in time of stress, something that gives a feeling of worthwhileness for life in its totality, rather than just for the present, and that enables one to postpone the desires of the moment for something of real value which the future holds forth, (it is a religious concept that gives strength in time of trouble, call it what you may, it is that will which makes most people live better and die easier.)

The adverse social and economic conditions which are important to the problem of guiding the adolescent cannot be materially affected by the individual parent, teacher, scout master, settlement house worker, or psychiatrist. All that these workers can do is to recognize the part played by these important social factors and to keep the general public aware of the obligations of society to the individual in order that a better place may be created for the underprivileged child and conditions may be improved. Then we must utilize to the fullest extent the facilities already available which tend toward the stabilization of youth by giving satisfactory emotional outlets. At the moment there is probably a keener appreciation of the actual social, cultural, and economic

needs of the healthy adolescent than has ever existed before. Much can undoubtedly be done to reduce social and economic handicaps to a minimum through parental education.

It is unfortunate but true that all too frequently the parental attitude toward the adolescent continues to be one of either domination or evasion. Both of these undesirable approaches to the affairs of youth are born of fear and a desire on the part of the parents to indulge themselves in a false sense of security. By domination the parent hopes to subdue the normal, healthy drives which represent a desire on the part of the child to be emancipated from parental control and to establish his own independence. This is one of the first and most important bits of evidence that the child is developing a personality of his own and pushing on toward maturity, an urge which should be encouraged, not prevented.

By the method of evasion parents protect themselves from facing situations squarely; they refuse to acknowledge that the child is no longer satisfied to play a passive part in family or community life. The child has awakened to find out that all is not as serene in this world of adults as parents would have him believe. He begins to question the value and worthwhileness of an adult philosophy which leads to so much discontent and unhappiness. Parents struggle on in an effort to maintain the old order of things, primarily concerned about their own comfort and security, while the child is developing new attitudes and seeking new experiences. Herein lies the conflict between the older and the younger generation and herein lies the reason why so few adolescents, relatively speaking, express a desire to be like their parents.

We must recognize the fact that the generation which has sprung up since the World War is confronted with numerous and varied situations which were not in exist-

ence prior to the dawn of the twentieth century, and many of these situations and devices, the product of man's own ingenuity, create problems. The automobile, moving pictures, the radio, road houses, night clubs, cocktail parties, sensuous literature and plays, and the lessening of religious influence, are all relatively new factors which confront the adolescent of today. Without condemning the radio or movies or automobiles, we can say that life is more complex, and there is a greater need for a stable outlook at an earlier age which will permit the adolescent to assume independence with safety. In other words, the adolescent must be prepared to assume obligations and the responsibility of guiding and directing his own activities at an earlier age than he did a few decades back.

In addition to the problems which are the product of new inventions and changes in our social codes and customs, are those conflicts which arise between parents and children due to the personality maladjustments of parents themselves. The greatest barrier with which the adolescent is confronted is the fact that no small number of the adult personalities with whom he comes in contact have not arrived at a satisfactory state of maturity themselves. For some reason or other they have failed to develop a philosophy about life which permits them to carry on happily and efficiently. Such adults are invariably in conflict with self, family, and society and as parents they have but little to contribute to the adolescent. Many of these individuals are obviously maladjusted—that is, their outlook on life, as manifested in their personal relationships, shows evidence of inferiority, jealousy, and cruelty, or they are disposed to be erratic, temperamental, evasive, and unreliable. Many of them are inclined to be quarrelsome, unduly sensitive, and easily hurt. These are all examples of temperament

and personality traits which interfere with the establishment of a satisfactory relationship between parents and children.

No less pernicious, however, so far as the child's welfare is concerned, are those less obvious attitudes which pass unnoticed by the casual observer or are perhaps even looked upon as commendable. The ambitious parent may be a thorn in the flesh of the child in his effort to bask in the glory of the child's achievements whether it be the boy's athletic interests or the girl's social career. Children are frequently pushed into situations created by parents, to which they are entirely unsuited. Failure is inevitable. The oversolicitous, protective type of mother creates, during the pre-adolescent years, many problems which the child must meet later on; while the stern, rigid, forbidding father who may be a keen executive and admired and respected in business, may set up attitudes toward authority, law, and order which result in serious difficulties as the child grows up. All these undesirable personality traits and unhealthy mental attitudes toward life which are part and parcel of the personality make-up of so many parents play a very important role in the development of neurotic and delinquent tendencies in children, and in order to guide the adolescent successfully these parents must be interpreted to their children and the parents themselves must be helped to acquire an insight into their own problems, for they, too, are but victims of their own past experiences and are in need of the same type of help as the children.

Any plan that involves either guiding the adolescent as an individual or guiding adolescents as a group must take into consideration the important part that adult personalities play in the emotional life of the child and the fact that conduct, whether it be good or bad, has its

driving force in these emotions. There is, of course, nothing new about this idea. Nevertheless, except when the child comes in contact with those who are particularly interested in the mental hygiene approach, it is given but little consideration.

### *Individual Responsibility*

Regardless of how adequate the more material aspects of the child's environment may be or how satisfactory are his personal relationships, the adolescent does not become a self-sustaining, independent, well-adjusted individual until he has reached that stage in his social development where he assumes the responsibility for his own conduct. Although we recognize that it is more important than ever before to see that the child is prepared by his early training and experiences to meet obligations and responsibilities, there are certain fashions of psychological thought and trends of education which tend to prevent the achievement of this objective. From the beginning, and perhaps from necessity, parents foster dependency in the child in their efforts to protect him from bodily harm and safeguard his interests in relation to the group. The life of the average adolescent is planned and organized at home, in the school, and on the playground in a conscientious effort on the part of those concerned to increase his efficiency. Under this highly systematized existence, many children are deprived of the opportunity of meeting and solving the simplest of life situations. Much of their thinking and most of their decisions are made for them. There seems to be little need or opportunity for them to take part in evaluating the pros and cons of their behavior, deciding questions for themselves on their own merits. This eliminates all too frequently the responsibility of making de-

cisions and mustering the will power to carry out a particular line of conduct.

I am not unmindful that from our modern psychological point of view, good old-fashioned will power as such is not given a very important place in the list of virtues. It has given way to the doctrine of self-expression, and the danger of inhibiting and repressing both thought and action has been stressed. I am not inferring that much of great value has not been added to our knowledge of behavior through these more dynamic concepts of conduct. It is true, however, that considerable loose thinking has been carried on under the guise of modern psychology and progressive education, and some of the older concepts, especially those that involve exercising the power of will, have been discarded for meaningless phrases. If one lived in a world as an isolated individual, this purely individualistic doctrine of self-expression might work, but wherever two or more individuals are gathered together, the necessity of the individual's thinking of himself in relation to the group to me seems absolutely essential. It would be a topsy-turvy world, indeed, if one did not learn in the process of growing up the necessity of inhibiting certain of the more primitive drives with which mankind has been endowed, such as sex, acquisitiveness, and pugnacity. These dynamic forces either dominate the individual or he learns to govern them. Herein lies the value of will power.

Society is so organized that the individual who has not learned to think in terms of his responsibility toward those with whom he has to live is made to feel the censure of the group. The training which ultimately equips him to conform should begin at an early age. In the child's relationship to parents and contemporaries, he is subjected to their opinions, beliefs and customs, and in-

variably they come in conflict with his own urges, wishes, and desires. Here a situation is created and the decision has to be made whether he will fight, retreat, or compromise. Two important and competing forces appear in the making of any decision. The first and perhaps the most important, is the emotional response which the child has toward the situation. The second is the intellectual evaluation of the facts at hand.

As previously stated, the individual who begins life by having all these decisions made for him or by being allowed to determine his course of conduct purely on the basis of his feelings, is starting out in life seriously handicapped. Invariably those decisions which are emotionally determined will bring him in conflict with the group, for such decisions are made with self getting all of the consideration. It is not my intention to be dogmatic as to whether the individual should retreat, compromise, or fight, for different situations call for different lines of attack; but the decision should be made only after taking the total situation into consideration, and the total situation involves not only the individual but the social group with whom he has to live. It involves not only the pleasures of the moment, but the more permanent satisfactions of the future. Only through such discipline of thought and action continued over a long period of time does the adolescent acquire a sense of responsibility toward family and community.

There is no reason why the adolescent should not be given an understanding of the more important problems which the family as a group have to meet and be guided so that he can help to lighten the burden of those concerned. These problems may revolve around a limited family budget or some unusual temporary need for money, a difficult personality in the household, misunderstandings in family or neighborhood relationships, an ill-

ness within the home which may require special consideration from other members of the household, an alcoholic father or a delinquent brother. All these problems and many others play an important part in family relationships and frequently create unnecessary friction, jealousy, selfishness, grief, or resentment when efforts are made to protect the child from facing the facts surrounding some of these difficult home situations. Here is an opportunity to let the adolescent acquire some understanding of the family and assume the responsibilities that may come with that understanding. Up to this time all the attention has been focussed on the importance of the family's understanding of the child.

Presenting these situations wisely, frankly, and unemotionally, should allow the child the privilege and opportunity to make a real contribution to an important life situation and prepare him to meet future problems of a similar type with greater wisdom. It is not uncommon to hear young people lament the fact that they have not been given the privilege of sharing the confidence of their parents. The adolescent is not afraid, he is not weak, he is anxious and willing to do his share, and he is in need of the chance to do his bit not only for himself but for those to whom he has obligations.

Guiding adolescents is an art, not a science and we have begun to realize how limited is our knowledge in this field of human endeavor. Regardless of the social, intellectual, or cultural level from which the adolescent may spring, each one needs special consideration. Every child is inherently different and therefore has specific responses to different influences. The suggestions I have outlined represent what might be termed the irreducible minimum in the way of consideration to which each and every child is entitled in order that he may start out upon life with a fair chance of success in confronting a

world where competition is keen and where parental mistakes and a lack of responsibility on the part of society are costly. There is no panacea which will assure us of success in guiding the adolescent. There are, however, certain fundamental social and economic pitfalls, and there are parental limitations with reference to training and guidance from which the child should be safeguarded. There are also the personal and individual responsibilities toward life in general which the adolescent must learn to assume.

In conclusion I would point out that adolescent guidance will be effective in direct relation to the efficiency of the pre-adolescent training and the emotional stability of the parents. The contribution which mental hygiene has to make is educational rather than clinical, more effective as a means of prevention than as a therapeutic measure. There is need not only of parental education, but of community education so that the facilities of the community may be coordinated and set to work in an effort to prevent asocial behavior. There is a need, and it will continue for a long time to come, for well organized clinical centers where maladjusted adolescents will be understood and helped to meet the problems associated with this particular period of life, and there is an urgent need for the continuation of researches in the field of child guidance. Careful follow-up studies should be made to obtain a frank evaluation of results and methods. There exists an honest difference of opinion in the minds of many educators and psychiatrists with reference to both of these points. More time should be devoted to study of the so-called normal, well-adjusted adolescent in an effort to determine insofar as it is possible, the environmental factors and personality traits which are associated with efficiency, success, and happiness.

## The Psychiatrist and the Probation Officer

LOWELL S. SELLING, M.D.

*Director, Psychopathic Clinic, Recorder's Court,  
Detroit, Michigan*

**A**BOUT a month ago J. Edgar Hoover, whose name is probably well known to most of you, commented that the criminals and the forces against crime were like two great armies waging a war. This idea is not new. For years, writers on the subject have been comparing the costs of the war against crime with the costs of the last war against a foreign enemy, showing that the country spends much more per annum to fight criminals than it ever did during the war years to fight Germany, that the number of lives lost in the struggle is greater than the number lost during the war, and the results much less satisfactory.

I should like to continue this simile a bit. Certain of us in this battle against crime represent various military forces. The police represent the big guns which batter down the enemy's forts. They have also their intelligence system and they carry on a great part of the fight, but the probation officers, too, are extremely important. To me, they represent part of the infantry, particularly the shock troops, for it is they who have to carry on an important part of the fight against the known (convicted) rather than the unknown criminal. In this array of forces against crime, just where does the psychiatrist stand? I should like to compare him with the air force. Without him the army is quite at a loss. It can fight but it has been found to be more efficient when it has trained eyes to guide it, when a certain amount of

fighting is from the air and from unexpected places, and when it has the aid of a very modern arm of defense.

I feel that that is just where the psychiatrist stands when studying his position in relation to the probation officer. He aids the probation officer in his fight and neither could fight the battle alone. Of course there are some psychiatrists with whom I do not, as yet at least, agree, who claim that psychiatrists alone could win the battle against crime provided they were given adequate assistance by the other militant parts of the police force. They claim that their knowledge of treatment is valuable and adequate to that extent, but I think it is too early to talk of such schemes. First of all psychiatrists are too expensive, are too highly technical in their ideas, and there are not enough of them to make any very great inroad into this gigantic struggle if they were left to themselves.

It may be, perhaps, that in the next war the infantry will be less important than the fighters who fly over the line. We do not know. And so, perhaps in the next decade or two psychiatry will have more and more to do in the battle against crime, but it is beyond our power to see just how influential it will be. What we can see now, is the position of psychiatry today. Psychiatry needs the information gathered by the probation officer, and the probation officer needs the information gathered by the psychiatrist. The probation officer is a more effective force if he has the technical knowledge about the mental make-up and other features of the probationer's character which the psychiatrist can provide and, by the same token, the psychiatrist would be a fool if he did not request that all of the material which the probation officer gathers through highly technical and arduous processes be put at his command, at least to save duplication and

probably to add another and valuable viewpoint, that of the practical field man.

The connection between psychiatry and other work with offenders is already a matter of experience. In many courts it is true that psychiatrists are in demand by the probation department only when a problem of sanity or insanity is to be solved, and here the probation department merely suggests to the judge that since the man is apparently insane, a board of psychiatrists should be appointed to take care of the matter.

But psychiatry in recent years, particularly in the last fifteen, has gone far beyond that point. No longer does it interest itself solely and primarily in insanity, but it attempts to delve into all of the problems of the mind. Psychiatric problems are now resolving themselves into problems of mental hygiene. Crime is a mental disease just as insanity is, but the symptoms are different, the causes are different and the treatment is very different. Just as one would bring a sick, insane person to a psychiatrist, so would one seek the advice of a skilled physician in treating the disease which we call crime. The question, of course, is asked whether the disease is not more social than organic, whether it is not society that affects the mind of the man rather than germs or poisons or other similar causes. In many cases this is true and, for that reason, psychiatry is demanding a setup in the form of a clinic wherein, in addition to the opinion of the psychiatrist, various other experts—sociologists, psychologists, physicians, specialists in the diseases of the glands of internal secretion—are also called on to give their opinions. The mental hygiene viewpoint suggests that we must do everything within our power to prevent the occurrence of such disorders as criminal tendencies, neuroses, insanities, and the behavior problems of childhood.

On the other hand, it is the duty of the psychiatrist to try to cure these people if he cannot prevent the occurrence of their disorders. It is the purpose of the court clinic and the prison clinic, for example, to institute such measures as will turn their patients out of the institutions as law-abiding citizens and no effort should be spared to do this. The prison psychiatrist cannot do this alone. He must have a sociologist who can interpret for him the way in which the man has been brought up, the neighborhood from which he has come, the gang leaders in that neighborhood, recreational and other sociological institutions which have failed with him. He must have a psychologist who points out the intellectual background of the man and he must have others to aid him in this study.

As an example let me point out our procedure in Detroit. In 1920 an act was passed which provided for a psychiatric clinic in the Recorder's Court of the city of Detroit. Nothing was outlined in that law as to the personnel or procedure of the clinic. It was left to the judges to determine who should be examined. This is the way it ought to be, except that if the clinic can do it, an attempt should be made to examine every felon who passes through the court. Sometimes clinics which are supposed to examine every felon passing through the court are unable, because of the tremendous case load, to give proper consideration and treatment to the men going through. Such a procedure is worse than useless. A few good examinations are of more aid to the probation officer than many hundreds of poor ones and the quality of the work should be much more emphasized than the quantity. Our clinic is established on a qualitative basis and we see about 1200 cases per year, a maximum effective load for a staff of six persons.

Not all of the offenders examined are felons, many

of them are misdemeanants and here the clinic is possibly of the greatest help. After the man has been convicted the case is referred to the probation department and to the clinic; the machinery in both departments starts working but with no duplication. When material is developed by the probation department which would be useful to the clinic, that information is given to the clinic workers. On the other hand, it is admitted that the psychiatric department considers itself practically an adjunct to the probation department, and would like to aid in recommending disposition for every felon who passes through the court, an ideal situation to my mind. Sometimes referral to the clinic rests directly upon the probation officer. Many times in court the case will seem too trivial, or of such a kind that it does not seem worth while to occupy the time of the clinic, but the probation officer suggests that this might be a good case for preventive methods, or that the clinic could aid in handling a case which he, as a lone individual, could not adjust.

### *Investigation and Disposition*

We now come to that side of the work of both agencies which is best known, the investigative function. Who should or should not be referred for either one or the other form of investigation, and afterwards who should or should not be given probation? Is there a type of case which should be referred to the psychiatrist alone, and another one where the probation officer should have the whole say? Probably all cases could be referred to the psychiatrist to advantage, but if he cannot see all of them, it becomes a duty of the officer to cull out intelligently those on which the psychiatrist can profitably work.

To do this the probation officer must familiarize himself with psychiatric techniques and methods. Time does not permit us to discuss these techniques here, but knowl-

edge of them helps any officer in his work. Certainly in some ways the probation officer should be trained and should think like a psychiatric social worker. But in the majority of cases the psychiatrist and the investigator should each be able to see clearly where his own field leaves off and the other begins. It is when both are working together that results are really obtained.

Two points of view are brought to bear upon the subject. The probation officer questions whether the man is a good probation risk. He thinks of protection for society as well as of rehabilitation for the individual. He asks himself what can be done *to make this man a good risk* if he is released, what medical science, psychological science, psychiatric science, sociological science, can offer this man to make him less of a risk to society. Or should he go to a penal institution on the presumption that after a short or a long incarceration he would be more likely to be law-abiding? If the psychiatrist's answer is that this man is a bad risk basically, he still asks whether anything can be done beyond institutionalization. This is seemingly a speculative question as to the wisdom of expending effort upon this man to save the state the money for incarceration. Perhaps the psychiatrist says: "Well, so far as our science is concerned, this man is a hopeless wreck and we must do something to eliminate him from society." On such a basis, the psychiatrist makes a recommendation to remove the man from society for as long a period as possible.

The psychiatrist can render other services. He can eliminate the insane. Very often men who are brought into court are not so obviously insane as those who are brought into hospitals. They may seem a little bizarre in their conduct, a little abnormal in their attitudes, a little queer in the way they behave, but the question of mental disease does not occur to the mind of the layman

as it does to the doctor. Every time a case comes before a psychiatrist he considers the possibility of mental disease, and the treatment which the patient should have outside of a hospital so that he will be safe for the public, or in a hospital so that he will do no damage.

Besides the service which the clinic offers to the probation department in the way of prediction and study, there is another which one might call a descriptive service. In this the psychiatrist sits back rather dispassionately and does not necessarily express an opinion about results of psychiatric treatment or what can be done to help the man, but instead passes him through the various scientific techniques in order to understand his constitution as perfectly as possible, and then hands his findings to the probation department to use as they deem most desirable.

In our clinic the man is first given a very thorough physical examination which is necessary for a number of reasons. Real knowledge of the man's make-up cannot be gained unless one knows something about his physique. It is very important sometimes to know whether or not a man has a serious illness of some sort. Sometimes he has a contagious disease which would make it necessary to hospitalize him rather than to put him on probation. Sometimes he has tuberculosis or some disease which may carry him off in a short period of time, so that institutionalization would be just as helpful to the community and to the man as probation, even though under ordinary conditions he might deserve the latter. Sometimes some physical quirk may be turned up which is directly responsible for his criminality; but in a case of this sort the psychiatrist's interpretation is necessary to show how that physical quirk has affected the mind of the man.

It then becomes the duty of the psychiatrist to point

out to the probation department the proper place for treatment. For instance, if the patient has a nose which makes him look like a thug, or has a countenance which makes him look like a gangster, he can be taken to a plastic surgeon and have the defect corrected, for we already know that correction of this sort of thing often goes far to alter criminal tendencies. Often merely a weak physique is important for the probation officer to know about, for then he can see that his client gets proper exercise, proper meals, and other hygienic treatment. I know of one case where a young man was arrested and convicted of indecent exposure. He had an unretractable prepuce which was causing him to go through certain obscene motions, a physical condition easily corrected by surgery. After the operation there were no more complaints.

### *The Psychological Test*

The next step in clinic procedure is the psychological test. This has been used in criminological work for years. As far back as 1916, when the tests were first so used, they were administered to groups of convicts and delinquents. The general conclusion seemed to be that convicts were more defective mentally than the general run of people. It is very true that in proportion to their numbers there are more defectives who commit crimes than those in any other particular mental age group; but it is also true that it is not necessary for a man to be a mental defective to be a criminal. I have found, particularly in prisons, that criminals are very alert, very bright, and not only of college grade but frequently of intelligence even superior to that. But they are hardened criminals just the same; and we find the intelligence quotient of particular value to the probation officer in many cases. It gives him an idea of the type of mind

with which he has to work. So often a pleasant appearing man will be brought in who makes a rather good impression upon the probation officer. He has a nice smile, he is cooperative, he is apparently gentle, and the probation officer feels that because of these personality traits he is going to be good material. Then we find that he is so stupid that he cannot even do the things which the probation department demands of him in behavior. So, under these conditions, we point out that such a man is incapable of cooperation on probation.

I want to suggest here that the I.Q. in itself is of no value. There are now many better ways of expressing intelligence in the psychological sphere. It is definitely better for the psychiatrist and the psychologist to give an opinion about intelligence based upon a number of studies rather than to give a flat I.Q. based upon a mere booklet of paper which the patient fills in.

In our clinic we are gradually getting away from giving I.Q.'s directly to the probation officer, but prefer to state whether a man is defective or very defective; whether he is an idiot, an imbecile, or highly intelligent. We state by qualifying adjectives what sort of person he is, instead of giving a numerical I.Q. which may mean one thing in one case and another thing in another. Not that the I.Q. is not of value, but we are adding to our tests other things which modify our opinion about each individual I.Q.

Another technique which we have added in the clinic is the sociological examination. This has been better carried out in a number of prison clinics than in our own, and we are only beginning to use it. The technique consists in having a trained psychiatric worker go into the various delinquency areas of the city and become acquainted with those who are entering a career of crime or who are deeply involved in it. This individual must

have a knack for making friends, must not be afraid, and must be a cooperative sort of person. Then he can come back to the clinic and with the data which we are able to obtain for a social history, filled in from an interview with the patient, we can evaluate his findings in terms of what this individual is likely to do in relation to the whole situation.

There are many other techniques which the psychiatrist has at his command. We have tests of deception; we have special cross-checking tests, the point of which is to get the man to tell a different story to different examiners, and to keep records of both so that they can be compared.

There are other devices in a good psychiatric clinic, such as the lie detector, which would be of inestimable value to a probation department if the department is up-to-date and can understand such a technique and not misinterpret it. But immense harm can be done by the use of such equipment where too much is expected of it.

### *Psychiatric Diagnosis and Treatment*

To crown the whole thing, comes the psychiatric examination which goes into the personality, into the emotions, into the attitudes, into the ideas, the thoughts and even the dreams of the patient in order to find out with what manner of man we are dealing. Why is he behaving in this way? What sort of machinery does he have under his skull cap? Is it a fact that he has carried down from his boyhood some abnormal love for his mother which makes him behave as he does? Does he have deep feelings of inferiority? All these questions can be answered, at least in part, by psychiatry and certainly in far more detail than by any other science.

It might be pointed out here that every psychiatrist

does not qualify to do this type of work. The writer in his book<sup>1</sup> points out that handling criminals requires a special technique and a special knowledge so the psychiatrist can get along with this type of individual. Whereas the ordinary office patient comes to the psychiatrist and asks to be treated for his mental disorder, the criminal is brought to the psychiatrist against his will, thinks he is a "bug" doctor and does not even want to talk to him. To fight this, the psychiatrist has to use every technique at his disposal, and certainly experience in handling criminals is of first importance.

Lastly, I want to emphasize to you the matter of treatment. Treatment, of course, is the big thing in both probation and psychiatry. There would be no point in having probation if our idea were not to make offenders law-abiding. There would be no point in having psychiatrists advise the probation officer if the advice did not help the probation officer to make people law-abiding. But the treatment is different in different cases. In the case of the insane, for instance, it may be hospitalization. In a case of nervous disorder which manifests itself by abnormal behavior, such as indecent exposure or nymphomania or rape, the treatment may be psychiatric, in the hands of a private psychiatrist under supervision of the probation department. Often the treatment may be merely a matter of supervision, with treatment interviews, the psychiatrist or the probation officer being the person of choice, depending on how much actual psychiatric care is necessary. Sometimes the probation officer is a far better person to carry on this systematic treatment than the psychiatrist, for he can act as a fatherly person, he is mature, he is friendly, he does not have the aroma of medicine about him, and he can sit down and

1. Selling, Lowell S., *Diagnostic Criminology*, (Michigan, Edwards Brothers, 1935).

talk with this man and give him help without the stigma of insanity hanging over the interview. Often he can advise about vocational placement which the psychiatrist, knowing less about specific jobs than the officer does, is unable to do. In special types of cases, special psychiatric treatment may be necessary.

This is particularly true in the domestic relations cases of which we have very many in the Recorder's Court in Detroit. While I will admit that the predominant case passing through the clinic is that of the feeble-minded wife and the alcoholic husband, nevertheless, behind all cases lies a dramatic situation—conflict between two people who are forced to live together. It is necessary to interpret two personalities to see how they can be made to live together more comfortably if possible, and also to interpret why, if this is impossible, they must be separated. Is the situation hopeless because the husband is having all of his self-assurance broken down by the wife's nagging, or is the situation one which can be patched up because the husband drinks merely because he lacks social life at home? It is possible sometimes to recommend taking the husband out of the home certain evenings and putting him in a socialized environment, an approved club or other place where drinking is not encouraged. He then returns to his wife and there is a moderate degree of adjustment. In other cases we find that the drinking is due to an inferiority reaction. The wife is smarter than the husband. He knows it and resents it. In other cases the husband's tendencies can be revealed only by psychiatric examination and can be interpreted and treated only by the psychiatrist.

In Detroit last year 909 traffic violators were placed on probation. These cases, which are not placed under probation supervision in most courts, are extremely important. Every individual involved is a potential mur-

derer, particularly if his offense calls for prolonged supervision. We in the clinic feel that a psychiatric and physical examination is necessary for each one of these men before a recommendation can be made. In many cases the correction of a physical defect, such as an eye defect, is all that is needed. Frequently the clinic has found epilepsy where it was not apparent before, and an epileptic is very dangerous behind the wheel of an automobile. In many cases probation is recommended as treatment for just such antisocial men as may get behind the wheel of a car and do grave damage. The psychiatrist can often correct cases of antisocial behavior occurring in automobile drivers or can aid the probation officer to do so.

Time does not permit me to dwell in more detail on the various ways that the psychiatrist examines and treats his patients, nor to describe a few specific cases where the psychiatrist has helped in the treatment of criminals or in the prevention of crime, and has worked well with the probation officer. Such cases do exist and we have many of them in our clinic. Sex offenders are within the sphere of the psychiatrist; domestic relations cases are aided by the work of the psychiatrist and the psychiatric social worker. Every misdemeanor who might later become a felon should be given some type of psychiatric treatment to stop further delinquent tendencies.

Modern psychiatric criminology is the cumulation of the efforts of medicine, particularly that branch of medicine pertaining to mental disease, to interpret for the probation officer and others who are struggling with the problem of crime, the mentality and make-up of the probationer, and to advise, if possible, some form of treatment which will make the offender eventually law-abiding. In order to do this the psychiatric department, particularly one working in a court clinic, should be ready to aid

and to cooperate to a maximum extent with a probation department. Because a little glory comes to the probation department the psychiatrist should not feel that he has been neglected, and the probation department should not feel that the psychiatrist is over-stepping his bounds in making recommendation for disposition. The points of view are different, but both are working toward the same end, both are battling crime sincerely and honestly with all the forces at their command, with every scientific technique that can be discovered.

## V CHILDREN UNDER FEDERAL PROTECTION

---

### The Government and the Child in Need

KATHARINE F. LENROOT

*Chief, Children's Bureau, U. S. Department of Labor*

THE year 1935 was a year of national consideration of some of the most outstanding needs of childhood and the obligation of government with respect to them. The year 1936 is a year when the Federal Government, the states, and the local communities, through cooperative undertakings stimulated by the Federal Social Security Act, are laying the foundations for services inspired by the ideal of health and security for every child.

In this endeavor old agencies of government are being utilized and strengthened, new services are being created, and emphasis is given to the importance of continuing and improving facilities made available under private auspices, and of establishing a broad base of citizen understanding and support. Never before has it been possible to apply so extensively the principle that a child's life cannot be broken into compartments, and that if childhood is to be truly served, material assistance to families, community health services, social services, and the development of means for the care and treatment of physically handicapped children must be brought into close relationship with one another and with other agencies of the community for the education, recreation, guidance, and general welfare of children.

Thirty-seven years ago the United States took the lead in establishing an agency of government with a similarly broad conception of the needs of childhood. The juvenile courts, established in accordance with the principles of chancery procedure, were the inheritors of the ancient principle that the English chancellor was the conscience of the King, whose duty it was to exercise the parental power of the state with reference to the weak and helpless, whatever the condition giving rise to the need might have been. In accordance with the broad conception of the all-embracing concern of the state for childhood, the courts established upon the precedents developed in Illinois included within their jurisdiction children whom for convenience we describe as the dependent, the neglected, and the delinquent, though we have learned by experience how these classifications shade one into another. With respect to these children the court might take such measures as their needs warranted, making such provisions, in the terms of the statutes, as a "wise father might make for his children," and substituting when necessary the restraint and guidance of the state for the discipline and control of individual parents.

The early juvenile courts set up no means of actually caring for children, depending upon institutions, public and private child-placing agencies, volunteer service, and other organizations of the community to minister to the particular needs of the children with whom they dealt. But they soon learned the meagerness of the resources which were available to them, and developed, first, probation service as an integral part of the court administration, then detention homes operated in close relation to the court. Later the courts fostered, through financial assistance provided from private sources, the first specialized psychiatric services for children in the United States.

These means of caring for children whose needs were

so great as to emerge beyond the general needs of the families of which they were a part, were in time found to be inadequate. The interest of children could not be adequately safeguarded when poverty threatened the very continuance of the family unit, and so the first "funds to parents" acts were passed, the forerunners of mothers' aid laws, which in many states, as a natural consequence of their sponsorship, were administered by the juvenile courts.

It is in line with this historical concern of the court in the development of resources supplying lacks in the child's environment which its processes uncovered, that in Los Angeles and other places it should have sponsored community wide organization for coordinating the approach to the problems of the unadjusted or neglected child and for fostering the development of more adequate resources for meeting his needs, and further, that the National Probation Association should take an active interest in these community developments. It is interesting to note that the juvenile court for the most part, probably because it is a coordinate branch of government and must respect jurisdictional lines, has had relatively little effect upon the organization of the police for dealing with children's problems, though the police are the most important avenue of intake to the court.

Julia Lathrop once said that the great contribution of the juvenile court was that it "made the child visible." To the degree to which its vision was broad and keen, it comprehended the breadth of the community services which must participate, and the importance of focussing these services upon the child's needs at the earliest possible time after their emergence when the greatest possibilities of constructive assistance were possible. Seventeen years ago at the meeting of the National Probation Association in Atlantic City, Judge Hoffman of the Cin-

cinnati Court of Domestic Relations and Dr. Woolley of the Cincinnati public schools challenged the conference with the proposition that in the schools, children with an infinite variety of personal and social problems might be studied and assisted, and that there, rather than at the later stage at which the court came in contact with them, was the logical point of attack.

In the seventeen years which have intervened between these two Atlantic City conferences, there has developed from the small beginnings then in existence the visiting teacher movement, the child guidance clinics and the extension of social work, greatly stimulated by depression needs, to the rural parts of the country. Case work services have been applied more extensively both to foster home and to institutional care, the psychoanalytic approach in family case work has been developed, public recreational services have been expanded, theories of the relationship of delinquency to certain characteristics of urban areas have been developed, and attempts have been made, with results seriously challenging, to measure the success or the failure of the juvenile court, the child-guidance clinic and the institution. We are engaged in extending and strengthening our health services, and for about a year and a half we lived under industrial codes which raised to sixteen years the age at which children might enter gainful employment. The Federal Government has also entered the field of crime prevention and treatment to an extent unforeseen in 1919.

Along with these trends within our own field has come the intensification of urban problems, the multiplication of easy means of transportation with all it signifies in temptation to crime and ease of escape, the radio, the movie which reaches, it is estimated, 11,000,000 persons a week, and the intoxication of prosperity followed by the depth of depression, leaving in its train, for hundreds

of thousands of youths, frustration, idleness, and in many cases, transiency.

Thus we are brought to the events of 1935 and 1936. In various forms and through various channels we are attempting to build services for the welfare and protection of children and families into the very framework of our governmental edifice, to an extent hitherto untried in this country. Is it not urgently necessary that those responsible for the administration of these earlier agencies for safeguarding childhood, the courts and the probation services, take stock of their own position in this rapidly changing picture, and likewise that those engaged in the development of state and community services outside the judicial agencies of government give serious consideration to the mutual relationships which should be fostered and developed?

It is often said that the juvenile court has failed. To the extent that this is true, it is largely a reflection of the failure of the community to serve the needs of the children with whom the court deals—for the court can succeed only as it is an agency for the encouragement and wise use of community organizations equipped to deal with the family, health, educational and social needs of youth.

The method of the juvenile court, involving, in the words of Grace Abbott, the principle that all children can be treated alike only as all are treated differently, is essentially the method of case work. Experience has shown that group work methods can be administered directly under court auspices to only a limited extent, and must be applied for the most part by agencies serving a much larger segment of the child population than that coming into the court. The juvenile court, especially through the coordinating council movement, has also been interested in what we call community organization.

The Social Security Act is making possible the great expansion of child health services throughout the country (45 state plans have been approved and five more are under review) with possibilities as yet unexplored for extension of services for mental health as well as for physical health; services for crippled children, who in some states come to the court for determination of eligibility for public medical and surgical care (31 approved plans with nine more under review); child welfare services in rural areas administered through state and local non-judicial public welfare agencies (31 plans approved and seven more under review); and grants-in-aid for needy dependent children deprived of the care or support of one parent, in their own homes or the homes of near relatives (18 states with approved plans). In the light of these developments and the general trends which preceded them many questions of the function of the court in the whole community program have arisen and require serious consideration.

### *Legal Function of the Court*

We have said that the function of the court is essentially that of social case work, but it must be added it is case work closely related to the adjudication of legal status and the determination of legal questions. It is important to analyze the kinds of legal questions with which the court has to deal, in order to determine the extent to which they can be conceived of as truly judicial in character, and the degree to which the judicial function may be regarded as inseparable from the case work function.

In the first place, the courts are dealing with questions of eligibility for various forms of public assistance—institutional or foster-home care at public expense, medical service (in many jurisdictions, questions of eligibility for corrective treatment of physical handicaps, or even

in some places for general hospital care for sick children and for care of mentally defective children, come before the court for determination). Such determination involves (1) an investigation of the child's condition, which may mean medical, psychological, psychiatric or social techniques, and often a combination of all four; (2) determination of eligibility within the terms of the law. Both these functions are widely performed by non-judicial agencies, which when properly staffed and constituted are entirely competent to apply legal provisions authorizing assistance with appeal to an administrative authority, as provided by the assistance features of the Social Security Act, or recourse to court action in particular cases as provided in all areas where legal rights are established.

It was long ago agreed by most of those interested in juvenile courts that they should not assume responsibility for purely administrative functions of this character, except in the absence of any other properly constituted agency. The juvenile court standards sponsored by the Children's Bureau, and the standard juvenile court act sponsored by the National Probation Association, were drawn up in the light of this principle. The difficulty has come in its application. Juvenile courts are usually county-wide in character. Poor laws in the past have been administered for the most part by smaller units of government—towns and townships—without paid assistance, and with standards of service far inferior to those prevailing in juvenile courts, inadequate as they have often been.

A great opportunity is now presented by the Social Security Act to develop adequate county-wide administration of public assistance services, with specialization as needed within the general framework for particular groups, such as families of widowed or deserted mothers

having dependent children with all the special problems which they present. The goal of a single local welfare agency with easy transfer of cases from one category to another as needs require, and with adequate service to all families in need, will not be achieved, in my opinion, until we have an established form of federal and state aid for general public assistance, but it is being greatly stimulated by the financial assistance and field service made available through the Public Assistance Bureau of the Social Security Board.

I am aware that mothers' aid divisions in some juvenile courts have built up standards of service superior to those that have prevailed in general public relief, and even perhaps superior to those which may be expected in the near future under the developing plans of which I have just spoken. Transfer of responsibility may not be immediately in the interest of the families and children served. It is incumbent upon these departments to use the standards which they have developed as a lever for the promotion of high standards in the general agency, the establishment of which may in some way be insisted upon—perhaps by interested citizen support as a condition of transfer. Continuous and sincere participation in state-wide and local plans for unified services I regard as a solemn obligation upon the advanced mothers' aid departments of the courts, one in line with the history of the court as an agency for the stimulation and encouragement of community resources for meeting the needs of children.

Second, I should turn to the function of the court in adjudicating questions involving the responsibility of parents for the support and care of their children and parental liability for abuse and neglect, and to the social services giving help in these difficult problems of family adjustment. Both these functions have in some places

been centered in the court itself, social services being provided through divisions of the probation department in cases of neglect, non-support, and family relationships. In other communities a non-judicial children's aid organization, public or private, has served families involved in such cases, in cooperation with the court which has adjudicated custody, determined parental responsibility, and imposed penalties for criminal or quasi-criminal offenses. We are here in the borderland between juvenile and family court cases, a field which on the whole has been less developed under the court than have probation services for delinquent children.

The rural child welfare services being established under the Social Security Act on the basis of plans developed jointly by the state welfare agencies and the children's bureau, should make available assistance for neglected and deserted children in areas hitherto for the most part without either paid probation service or other forms of organized child-welfare work. They should of course work in close cooperation with the court and the assistance and relief services giving aid to dependent children in their own homes, in reenforcing community facilities for family service and rehabilitation, helping to work out adequate plans for the care of children who must be removed from their homes, and forming a continuous liaison, where needed, between the child's own family and the institutions or agencies giving foster care.

In cities, if more adequate public welfare departments with child welfare divisions can be developed, they will make available to the court facilities for the exercise of administrative social work functions preceding or attendant upon the exercise of legal functions. There is a great area of need hitherto unserved by either court or administrative agency in this field. Here one plan will be found more effective, there another, but real participation

in cooperative community planning on the part of the court and administrative agencies in the community, both public and private, is necessary if children are to be protected in their family relationships and safeguarded in their essential rights.

### *Delinquency Cases in the Court*

The third function of the court involves adequate provision for the 200,000 delinquent children, more or less, who pass before our courts each year, from the point of view of both prevention and treatment. This aspect of the court's work has implications as wide as the social order itself. It involves the family, its means of support, its social standards, the services available to it when it begins to fail; the school, its adjustment to the infinitely varying physical, intellectual, and emotional capacities of children, the fundamental training it offers for living as well as for learning and doing, its guidance and adjustment services; the police, their standards, attitudes toward law enforcement, and specialized preventive services; the child welfare services which will be developed in rural districts under the Social Security Act, and in the urban areas under local welfare departments with broad programs of services to families and children; housing and community conditions; commercial and non-commercial recreational facilities which the community affords. Let us not be led away by over-enthusiasm for detecting and punishing criminals so long as our means for producing criminals are so far-reaching and so efficient. Neither let us be beguiled by any single panacea, whether we call it boys' clubs, playgrounds, juvenile courts, crime prevention bureaus, or coordinating councils. We dare not escape the fundamental challenge which delinquency offers to the underlying economic and social conditions of family and neighborhood life. Neither

may we overlook the obligation to provide the most skilled and competent educational, recreational, and case work services available at the point of earliest breakdown.

As the juvenile court led the way in pointing the need for mothers' aid, child guidance, and other social services for children, let it also continue and strengthen its participation in community planning to meet present needs. And let us not fear an honest appraisal of the court's primary functions, even though it leads, as community agencies function more effectively, to a gradual limitation of court action to cases of grave delinquency, controversies with reference to parental rights and transfers of custody from parents to institutions or agencies, and disputes as to the facts regarding alleged violations of law. While limiting the volume of cases coming to the attention of the court, an adequate program would involve in most communities extension of juvenile court jurisdiction beyond present age limits, revival of certain jurisdictional restrictions, and improvement in standards of personnel so that the court may apply sound principles of study and treatment to the cases with which it deals.

Underlying all these considerations, however, are the general spirit of the community and its attitude towards children the circumstances of whose lives are such as to deprive them of opportunities for normal family and home experiences and wholesome outlets for the energies and initiative of youth. If we as social workers, through our own example and through helping to make the public aware of the problems in the lives of these children, can encourage an attitude not of patronage or condescension but of mutual understanding, sympathy and service, we shall be laying the foundation for a real approach to the problem of delinquency and crime.

## New Treatment for the Federal Juvenile Offender

CARL BRITT HYATT

*Special Attorney,*

*United States Department of Justice*

FOR centuries peoples of the world have been engaged in the formulation of laws against crime and criminals. In the beginning these enactments of society were directed largely toward social control by wreaking vengeance upon any individual who offended against these laws. They were hard, fast and fixed rules of conduct. Anyone violating these rules was dealt with only in the light of his particular offense, no other situation being considered.

But a great change has taken place. Bit by bit, outside the law but immeasurably influencing it, a steady development of humanism has come about. This development, particularly with regard to the youthful offender, has centered upon a study of the delinquent and why the delinquency occurred, rather than upon the act of delinquency itself. It has concerned itself with basic difficulties and ways of meeting those difficulties. In the United States the philosophy underlying the movement found expression in the state systems of justice through the passage of juvenile court legislation and the establishment of juvenile courts. As a result a type of procedure has been developed which reaches behind and beyond the courts, involving the study of all data that can possibly throw light upon causes of delinquency, and the use of all resources that serve to prepare and strengthen the individual for social living.

In the federal system there has been no development comparable to that of the juvenile court movement in the states. Children who come under the jurisdiction of the federal courts through violation of the Interstate Commerce Act, the postal laws, and other federal laws, must be treated, so far as the court is concerned, according to the legal procedure followed in adult cases.

It has been recognized for some time that this federal court procedure is not adaptable to the needs of the child. This inadaptability is due, primarily, to two causes. First, the Federal Government does not have the broad powers in dealing with the juvenile offender possessed by the states, powers which are necessary in providing adequately for the child's welfare. In the federal courts strict criminal procedure is followed, whereas in state courts, particularly in specially constituted juvenile courts, the liberal rules of chancery or equity practice may be applied. Federal courts place emphasis largely upon the crime, whereas juvenile courts stress the need of the individual and subordinate the letter of the law to the removal of the *causes* of delinquency. Second, federal procedure is inadaptable to the needs of a child because if the court had the powers of the state, it could not exercise them for the best interests of the child. The juvenile offender requires specialized treatment, but with the limited number of such cases in any one locality it would be impractical for the Federal Government to establish special courts equipped to give such care. To some extent this situation has been met by the development of the United States probation system within recent years, but the supervision of a probation officer is not the whole answer.

For some years the necessity for a change in the treatment of the federal juvenile offender has been recognized. The United States Children's Bureau made a study of children dealt with in the federal system during the years

1918 and 1919. Following that study the situation was more fully set forth by Dr. Miriam Van Waters in a report made for the National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement, entitled *The Child Offender in the Federal System of Justice*. At an annual meeting of the National Probation Association held in Minneapolis in June 1931, a special conference of juvenile court judges was called jointly by the Children's Bureau and the Bureau of Prisons of the United States Department of Justice to discuss the possibility of federal and state cooperation in caring for these children. A few months later, on August 14, 1931, the Attorney General of the United States, William D. Mitchell, announced a policy of referring all federal juvenile offenders to their home communities if such communities would accept the responsibility and if they had facilities to do so properly. On June 11, 1932, this policy was validated by an act of Congress which provides that United States attorneys may forego prosecution and surrender any person under twenty-one years of age arrested for a federal offense, after investigation by the Department of Justice, if "it shall appear that such person has committed a criminal offense or is delinquent under the laws of any state that can and will assume jurisdiction over such juvenile and will take him into custody and deal with him according to the laws of such state, and that it will be to the best interest of the United States and of the juvenile offender to surrender the offender to the authorities of such state." The cost of transportation of the juvenile to his home community is borne by the Federal Government.

The Department of Justice thus recognized the wisdom of providing for special study and socialized treatment of juvenile offenders and established a special policy for dealing with them. In initiating this policy an age limit under nineteen years at the time of arrest was fixed.

The department did not attempt, because of lack of facilities, to apply the policy to offenders up to the twenty-one year limit specified in the law except in occasional cases of youths found to be markedly underdeveloped, physically and mentally. Nineteen years is, however, a higher limit than that established for juvenile court jurisdiction in most states.

To carry out this policy the Children's Bureau and the Bureau of Prisons undertook a joint program. The work of the Children's Bureau consisted chiefly of evaluating local resources, evolving cooperative procedure between federal and local officials in the use of these resources, and carrying on an educational program. The work of the Bureau of Prisons was similar, and included in addition the carrying of administrative responsibility. After a demonstration was made of the possibilities of cooperation between local juvenile authorities and federal authorities, the Children's Bureau withdrew from the more general participation in the program although continuing cooperation in certain aspects of it.

Through the work of the Children's Bureau in the evaluation of local resources and in the tabulation of statistical data, it became apparent that the problem could not be solved immediately by the policy originally announced of turning child offenders back to the states. For the calendar year 1933 there were 2106 cases of federal juvenile offenders. In 1573 of the 2101 cases in which age was reported, the offender was over the juvenile court age for his state, while in only 528 cases was he within juvenile court age. Theoretically, then, 75 per cent of the cases remained a federal responsibility, while 25 per cent should have been handled through some state agency. Actually such a division cannot be made. Three hundred and twenty-one of the 528 offenders of juvenile court age came from fourteen states, mostly southern, in

which juvenile courts or institutions, or both, are generally inadequate, while only 189 came from the remainder of the United States. Eighteen came from Alaska. In other words, fourteen states and Alaska contributed 64 per cent of the offenders of juvenile court age in their own communities, while thirty-four states contributed only 36 per cent. The probable explanation of this is that a larger proportion of the juveniles who violate federal laws in the thirty-four states do not appear in the statistics because they are diverted at the source, as they should be, to local agencies.

Theoretically, as stated before, the group is 25 per cent state and 75 per cent federal. For practical purposes, however, these proportions cannot be accepted. Actually the possibility of assumption of responsibility by the state is less than is indicated in these figures and the obligation of the federal government correspondingly greater. To begin with, a definite responsibility falls on the government for the 75 per cent, because of the possibility of their receiving treatment inferior to that which would be afforded them in the federal system. Juvenile courts in the United States follow various types of social practice. In fact, there are almost as many different juvenile court systems as there are juvenile courts, each highly local in nature, each more or less a law unto itself, and each possessing the strength or weakness of the particular locality or leadership. Some are expressive of the most forward thought and others represent the worst of the past. It is recognized that the treatment afforded by many state juvenile courts and local agencies is constructive. These courts and agencies should be utilized to the fullest extent. It is also recognized that, because of the uneven development of state courts and other agencies for children and the widely varying jurisdictions, the Department of Justice must retain custody of, and assume

responsibility for developing constructive treatment for many juveniles.

Carrying out this responsibility involves continuing instruction of federal officials with regard to social investigation and proper detention care pending hearing. In view of the harmful effects of jail detention, specific instructions have been issued that insofar as possible such detention is to be avoided. United States probation officers are also specifically instructed to make prompt and thorough investigation into the cases of juveniles charged with the violation of federal laws, and to give intensive socialized treatment to those placed on probation.

This responsibility also involves individualized study of all juveniles prior to designation of the specific institution by the Attorney General. When institutional treatment is determined upon by the federal court, the court commits the child to an institution to be designated later by the Attorney General. The designation of an institution best fitted to meet the needs of the particular child is then made, following study of comprehensive reports submitted by the United States probation officer of the district.

In undertaking this work the Department of Justice is necessarily interested in the general problem of juvenile delinquency and its treatment, and not merely in the program for the federal offender. The solution of the latter difficulty lies not in legal transfer, not in changing jurisdiction at a stroke of the pen, but in raising standards of child care throughout the land, so that juvenile courts can deal more adequately with all children. The problem of the child is common to all juvenile courts, and all must prepare themselves for the task. Pointless differences in law and procedure must be faced and eventually eliminated. A youthful offender must not be regarded as a child in one jurisdiction and as an adult in another.

Treatment must not depend upon whether he lives in the North, South, East, or West, nor upon whether he is in the beginning a state or a federal charge.

The Department of Justice recognizes that the care of the juvenile offender is primarily a task for the juvenile court. But in a broader sense the responsibility which it thus recognizes, embraces the local social forces dealing with child welfare of which the juvenile court is only a part. Unless there is mutual helpfulness between the court and outside agencies little is left for the law except physical force. Unquestionably many social forces in the community have not as yet been harnessed and coordinated effectively against delinquency. Prevention and treatment do not depend upon the strength of the court within itself nor upon any one agency, but upon the strength and power of combined effort. Real advancement in solving social problems involving delinquency will be made not through the courts alone but through coordination of those activities that condition, train and readjust the individual.

## VI JUDICIAL RESPONSIBILITY FOR PROBATION STANDARDS

---

### Developing Probation as a Profession

GUSTAV L. SCHRAMM

*Judge, Juvenile Court, Pittsburgh*

ONE of the recognized advantages of our system of government lies in the flexibility which states and local subdivisions afford for laboratory analyses on a comparatively small scale of governmental structure. Such local studies and experiences may be of value for wider consideration. A little over two years ago the newly-created juvenile court of Allegheny County, Pennsylvania, began to function. Prior to that time, as in so many other parts of the United States, the juvenile court in Pittsburgh was assigned as a branch of the criminal courts of the county. To avoid the atmosphere of the criminal court room the sessions at one time were held in the county jail! Afterwards the work was transferred to a court generally civil in its nature, the judges rotating, usually for brief periods,—even monthly. In time, a large number of children—more than four thousand—came under the active supervision of the juvenile branch.

By 1933 this arrangement was considered no longer feasible, and a juvenile court was established for the county by act of the legislature, with the judge elective specifically to that court for ten years.

Faced with the responsibility of administering the work of the juvenile court, we re-examined the objectives of such a court. Unless both public and court understand

the fundamental basis of this work, and the court, supported by public opinion, thoughtfully puts theory into actual practice, a disappointment is inevitable. In a publication of the United States Children's Bureau<sup>1</sup> we find an apt statement of the ideals of the court:

The principles underlying juvenile court legislation are not new. While in some instances these principles have been greatly extended, their source is the common law, the juvenile court being a growth in, rather than a departure from, legal theory.

The conception that the State owes a duty of protection to children that it does not owe to adults was established by the old courts of equity. From the earliest times children have been regarded as the wards of chancery. The crown was *parens patriae* and exercised its prerogative to aid unfortunate minors through the great seal. In this country the State has taken the place of the crown, the equity power has been delegated to a specialized court, and this court has been given the means of exercising jurisdiction whenever the interest of the State demands that the court shall intervene to save the child.

The State of New Jersey, through an opinion by Judge Swayze in *Newkosky v. State Home for Girls*, contributes the following:

The proceedings authorized by the juvenile court act are not proceedings by way of punishment, but by way of reformation, education, and parental care. The act makes it clear that the proceedings are intended to save young persons from the ordinary punishment for crime, from the consequences of criminal conduct or of conduct which would justify immediate punishment or immediate restraint. Children and minors are necessarily more restricted in their liberty of action than adults, and I see no reason why children under the age of sixteen years should not in proper cases receive such restraint and care from the public authorities as ordinarily they ought to receive from their parents. The act in this view is an attempt to substitute public control for parental control. This was permissible under English law before the Revolu-

1. U. S. Children's Bureau, *The Legal Aspect of the Juvenile Court* (Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office, 1922, Page 7).

tion. . . . If the English court of chancery can act as *parens patriae*, surely the State of New Jersey may act in the same capacity through a juvenile court created by the legislature for the purpose.

We in Pennsylvania are fortunate that our Supreme Court in one of the earlier decisions<sup>1</sup> concerning juvenile court work authoritatively sanctioned full development of the basic philosophy involved when it stated:

To save a child from becoming a criminal, or from continuing in a career of crime to end in maturer years in public punishment and disgrace, the legislature surely may provide for the salvation of such a child, if its parents or guardian be unable or unwilling to do so, by bringing it into one of the courts of the state . . . , for the purpose of subjecting it to the state's guardianship and protection. . . .

The act is not for the trial of a child charged with a crime, but is mercifully to save it from such an ordeal with the prison or penitentiary in its wake, if the child's own good and the best interests of the state justify such salvation. . . .

There is no restraint upon the natural liberty of children contemplated by such a law, but rather the placing of them under the natural restraint, so far as practicable, that should be, but is not, exercised by parental authority. It is the mere conferring upon them that protection to which, under the circumstances, they are entitled as a matter of right. It is for their welfare and that of the community at large. The design is not punishment, any more than is the wholesome restraint which a parent exercises over his child.

### *Workers on a Merit Basis*

Miriam Van Waters, in another publication of the United States Children's Bureau,<sup>2</sup> makes further elaboration as follows:

Socializing of the juvenile court procedure depends on the clear, firm grasp of the principles of equity. The court is one of guardianship, not a penal court. Nothing that the

1. Commonwealth vs. Fisher, 213 Pa. 48.

2. U. S. Children's Bureau, *Proceedings of the Conference on Juvenile Court Standards* (Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office, 1922, Page 69).

child says can incriminate him in this court, because the object of the court is his welfare. Socialization involves getting at the whole truth; nothing that is true and relevant should be excluded. Socialization involves cooperation, constructive discipline, and the dynamic concept as expressed in the principle that an order in this court may be modified as life conditions are modified.

The chief obstacles to socialization of juvenile court procedure are lingering shreds of penal terminology and criminal law usage. Obsolete thinking and unclear thinking are obstacles. Socialization implies that judges and court officials are to be experts—experts in scientific training and in the art of human relations.

Thus, in a juvenile court where individual treatment is the basis, probation is fundamental and most fruitful. It is no mere coincidence that the members of the staff are known as probation officers. In order to bring administration in line with philosophy, the staff must be selected and maintained on a merit basis in the interest of the children to be served. The public in our county emphatically supported the establishment of the new court on that basis. Whenever and wherever the issue is clearly drawn, so that public opinion may be definitely expressed, there can be no doubt of the outcome.

On our staff transferred from the old court were 33 probation officer positions and 8 of a supervisory nature, all filled. Mr. Hiller, of the National Probation Association, in a study made in 1927 of the Allegheny County Juvenile Court, indicated that the officers had the following backgrounds:

College or normal school graduates . . . . .	5
Partial college or normal school courses . .	8
High school graduates . . . . .	9
Partial high school courses . . . . .	9
Grade school education . . . . .	10

Previous occupational experience of the court staff was listed as follows:

Professional social work.....	8
Teaching in public schools .....	5
Clerical or stenographic work.....	5
Other business positions.....	5
Salesman .....	1
Newspaper work .....	1
U. S. Navy or Marines.....	2
No previous employment.....	14
	<hr/>
	41

Thus, 19 of the 41 officers in 1927 were not high school graduates, and only 13, less than one-third, "have had previous experience in social work or in other occupations such as teaching which give experience in dealing with problems of child delinquency, dependency, or neglect."

#### *Plan of Reorganization*

To prevent hasty action on so vital a matter affecting the welfare of children, and to give me personal knowledge of the work of the staff, many of whom had been with the court for years, I announced upon entering my term of office that I would make no immediate replacements. Later we worked out a comprehensive plan for reorganizing the staff on a merit basis. On the sixteenth of June, I announced to the staff, and on the following day through the newspapers to the public, the procedure and requirements we considered most feasible to reorganize the probation department, including the foster home department.

The announcement for supervisors was as follows:

*General Qualifications.* This examination is open to men and women of good character and reputation who are at least twenty-five years of age and citizens of the United States.

Preference will be given to residents of Allegheny County. Candidates should possess good health and personality, intellectual and emotional maturity, skill and understanding in dealing with people, poise, leadership, resourcefulness, organization sense, executive ability and professional interest in the work.

*Minimum Requirements.* In order to take the examination all candidates shall demonstrate to the satisfaction of the judge that they qualify with respect to the following requirements:

1. Graduation from an accredited college or university or a recognized school of social work or the educational equivalent of this.

2. At least two years of full time service in a social agency of recognized standing, preferably a family or child caring agency, at least one year of which service shall have been in a supervisory capacity.

The minimum requirements enumerated above for admission to the examination will be waived for all persons now employed in the court in a supervisory capacity.

*Subjects of the Examination.* The examination will consist of two parts:

1. Written examination on the duties, theory and practice of juvenile court work, weight 40.

2. Rating on education, training, experience and personal qualifications, weight 60.

In connection with the second rating an oral examination will be held.

A grade of 70 per cent out of a possible 100 per cent will be required in the written examination in order to admit candidates to the oral examination. A final average grade of 70 per cent will be required for placement on the eligible list.

For probation officer the announcement was similar except as to minimum age (twenty-three), and minimum requirements, which for such positions were as follows:

1. Completion of two years in an accredited college or university or in a recognized school of social work, or the educational equivalent of this.

2. At least one year of full time service in a social agency

of recognized standing, preferably in a family or child caring agency.

The minimum requirements enumerated above for admission to the examination will be waived for all persons now employed in the court as probation officer.

More than two thousand application blanks were distributed on request. By July third more than eleven hundred applications had been received. As previously announced, no applications received after that date were considered. I personally examined every one of the applications and authorized the three hundred applicants who met the requirements indicated to appear for the written examination. Every member of the staff including the foster home department, was permitted to take the examination.

#### *Written and Oral Tests*

The examination consisted of practical questions on the duties, theory and practice of juvenile court work. The identity of each writer was concealed by use of a number. In the written examination, about 175 candidates attained an average of 70 per cent and were thereby authorized to take the oral examination. Those members of the staff who had not made 70 per cent were also permitted to report for this. Thus each staff member was afforded a complete opportunity to demonstrate fitness for the work. To assist in this oral examination I appointed M. Luella Sauer, executive secretary, Conference of Catholic Charities; Dr. William T. Root, psychologist; and Francis H. Hiller. This committee in its recommendations had no knowledge of the individual results of the written examination.

The oral examination took into account personal qualifications, education, training and experience. The general average was determined for each applicant on the ratio of 40 per cent for the written and 60 per cent for

the oral. Ninety-six attained a grade of 70 per cent or over and these comprised the eligible list for appointment.

### *Staff Reorganization*

While it was time consuming for me to interview every one on the eligible list, as well as those members of the staff whom I did not feel justified in retaining, I considered the importance of the matter, both to the court and to the individuals concerned, as warranting this procedure. I was fully aware of the great strain which the applicants, particularly the members of the staff, were under, and of the hardship which loss of position meant to many. I tried to perform my duty fairly and humanely, remembering always that my first obligation is to the children who are to be served by the court. Of the 41 appointed, 19 were of the old staff and 22 were new appointments.

Each child coming into the court should be understood and treated as an individual. Only when the officer has the time, the capacity and the opportunity to project himself, as it were, into the particular child's life, retaining his own objectivity, can effective service be given. The court worker is, for the time being, the child's alter ego, and with his sympathy, experience and resourcefulness walks with the child, so to speak, toward firmer ground. Certainly the standard suggested by the United States Children's Bureau of fifty to sixty children per worker does not seem unreasonable. (Personally, I don't like to use the expression "case load." Such an expression seems particularly unfortunate as applied to children for whom the court is acting as *parens patriae*. Perhaps someone will discover a better expression.) Such a ratio, considering the many and varied duties of a court worker, allows only from one to two hours a month

contact with the child himself. Although we have been permitted substantial additions to our staff, we have not as yet in our county reached this goal. It would seem unfair to condemn probation for not doing the whole job when in many places, including our own, it has not as yet had a real chance. Parenthetically, even when the child must be removed for the time being from his own home and placed in a more controlled environment in an institution, the same fundamental principles inherent in the personal guidance of probation should be followed until treatment in the child's own home is feasible.

Tenure of position affording reasonable security to workers must be based solely on performance if best results are to be obtained. To give professional status to probation, adequate compensation must also be considered as well as quality of work and tenure. Our own salary scale for probation officers was changed at the last budget session from \$125-135 per month, to \$125-150 per month. Local conditions account for some salary variation, but if qualified men and women are to be attracted to probation as a career, as a life of service, they must have reasonable financial security and cultural opportunity for their families and themselves.

Volunteer service, dependent on local conditions, may have much to commend it so long as quality is not sacrificed and the work of the volunteer is integrated with that of the paid staff. Otherwise such service is apt to be disappointing and costly. Serving children in trouble requires capacity and experience, at least as much as, say, the profession of teaching.

#### *The Judge and the Probation Officer*

In the relation of the judge and the probation officer lies much of the future of probation, and, in turn, of the juvenile court. I should like to illustrate from personal

experience. During the entire time I have been in office I have asked that the reports prepared by the officers be presented to me at least a day in advance of the hearing. In that way I can quietly and with reflection avail myself of the knowledge acquired by the officer, who has himself had the benefit of other agency contacts revealing the background and status of the child and his family. The intervening time may give me a better perspective than hurried reading or snatches of the report at the hearing. I have found this arrangement quite helpful in preparing myself for my own responsibility; the worker, knowing that I will read and consider his report, becomes aware of our cooperative functions, and his work is thereby enhanced.

At the hearing we try to further the principles underlying our work by keeping the atmosphere informal but dignified, as befits an important occasion. The adults and the child are rarely present in the room together. I prefer to have the adults tell what they know uninfluenced by others and with little or no opportunity for collusion. By seeing the child privately and personally, I have a more natural and effective approach to his needs. I have heard judges deliver platitudinous orations to dejected, nervous, or sullen boys with a glow of righteousness which may have been a satisfaction to the judge, but was of little help in solving the boy's problems. By sitting down with the child as his physician might do, and winning his confidence in one's ability and sincere desire to help him, one is more likely to make the efforts of the court, the staff, parents and others effective. The entire court process must be in keeping with our objectives for the child.

The juvenile court, pointing the way, in time perhaps beyond even its own boundaries, born of life-giving equity, in response to modern needs and understanding

of the fundamental human problems and relationships of dependent, neglected or delinquent children, has much to offer in the development both of law and social work. For centuries law has been called upon to adapt itself in an orderly manner to society's fundamental needs. In its tribunals we can trace the development of civilization.

Wherever there is a probation staff on a professional basis, adequate in quality and in numbers, and close understanding, with active, thoughtful cooperation of all who have the common purpose of serving children in trouble, the law will be enriched, social work will find a more and more fruitful field, and human helpfulness will be increased. To such a purpose probation can contribute effectively only on a truly professional basis; to such a purpose, the profession of probation may well dedicate itself.

## The Judge in His Community

HENRY S. WALDMAN

*Judge, Juvenile and Domestic Relations Court,  
Elizabeth, New Jersey*

THE juvenile court has been referred to as a response to the modern spirit of social justice. In his unexcelled classic, *Juvenile Courts in the United States*, Dr. Lou<sup>1</sup> states, "It is perhaps the first legal tribunal where law and science, especially the science of medicine and those sciences which deal with human behavior, such as biology, sociology and psychology, work side by side." Such a tribunal, it must be granted, is unique in the annals of international jurisprudence. Consider, if you will, that the juvenile court, though it is of modern origin, has its roots far back in feudal times in England when the Crown first assumed supervision over the estates of minors. Then came the concept of the king as *parens patriae* for infants incapable of taking care of themselves. This theory became a part of the English common law. The juvenile court takes its chancery type of jurisdiction from these ancient roots imbedded in English jurisprudence and from the modern statutes which created the court. The powers assigned to the court by the Standard Juvenile Court Law, have opened to it an unexplored land of human relations without binding the court down and fettering it by ancient precedents. Never was a court established upon such a humanitarian and social base before.

The tremendous power thus given to the court fills the judge with awe and reverence and should make him

1. Lou, Herbert H., *Juvenile Courts in the United States* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1927).

eager to administer his herculean task with dignity and humanity. The judge must understand and appreciate social change, the shifting mores of the community, and he must be the interpreter of social thinking on children's problems. As Mr. Justice Cardozo observed:

"A judge is to give effect in general not to his own scale of values, but to the scale of values revealed to him in his readings of the social mind. Our function as judges, if not to transform civilization, is to regulate and order it. The book of life changes, and the values revealed to us today may be different from those that will be revealed to us tomorrow."

The judge of the juvenile court finds himself in new surroundings when he takes over his position. His notions of a court gathered from studies in law school and practice at the bar must undergo a radical change when he is called upon to administer the most socialized court in the long history of the law. He has to decide human questions which cannot be settled merely by citing old precedents. You cannot chart the future of a girl or a boy or a family by repeating what a learned judge said in a celebrated case. A children's judge must have an understanding of human personalities and the cause and effect of social conditions. To this end, he must diligently apply himself to the study of crime, the criminal and criminal law. He must have more than a passing acquaintance with the sciences of medicine and of human behavior. He must understand something of the special abilities and disabilities of human beings; something of the mysteries of psychiatry; he must be an amateur economist, a spiritual advisor; he must develop a philosophy of life from the study of thousands of cases which come before him, a philosophy which will bring him wisdom and understanding. A rather large order for one person, is it not?

I like to think of the juvenile court as a haven for all who are socially oppressed, underprivileged and in need of sympathy and understanding. Here we administer to the needs of a large group who require social rehabilitation. If we are to have such a thing as the more abundant life it must be not only for the strong, the normal and healthy, but for those unfortunate human beings who are sinking into the mire.

### *The Court and Community Leadership*

How shall the juvenile court serve the community? I should say primarily by taking the leading role in preventive and constructive work directed against the ultimate causes of delinquency. The juvenile court is an integral part of any community plan for delinquency prevention. In its records it has in every municipality a gold mine of data concerning delinquency areas and the causes of delinquency. Nothing will ever be gained by hermetically sealing up this information in the files of the court. The court then simply degenerates into a routinized institution doing its day to day task with judicial unconcern for remedying the situation which brings countless delinquents before it. It then justifies one of the strongest attacks made against it, that by Thomas D. Eliot<sup>1</sup> in his book, *The Juvenile Court and the Community*, where he says,

"Instead of being an active influence in the community for the betterment of conditions causing delinquency, such a court takes itself for granted. It grinds out grist from day to day, too busy, too indifferent to interpret its meaning for its own edification or the public's! In this respect it has no better example than the police and criminal courts with which, in some cities, it has come to rank. On

1. Eliot, Thomas D., *The Juvenile Court and the Community*, American Social Progress Series (New York: Macmillan, 1914).

its own administrative side, such a court is like a poor-house or salvage corps, impotent to relieve poverty or put out fires, let alone to attack their causes."

Now that is strong criticism but is not much of it justified? We judges of juvenile courts must take over community leadership in crime prevention programs. We have the knowledge and experience to do it. A judge must take the aggressive in the absence of any stimulus from public opinion, or what will happen is what has happened in many cities where social agencies or business groups have taken over the task of a community crime prevention program or the formation of a coordinating council. If the juvenile court has lost prestige in a community it has been because the judge has performed his task in a perfunctory manner and has not lived up to his deeper responsibilities. We should open our court rooms frequently to civic and welfare groups and invite speakers to address these citizens on subjects of social welfare, crime, delinquency prevention and kindred subjects. We should speak before luncheon clubs, parent-teacher organizations and public bodies on the work of the court and on community responsibility for delinquency. We can point out the manifold causes of delinquency and call upon the various agencies to cooperate in minimizing or stamping out the evil.

All of us have undoubtedly witnessed the collective efforts of citizens in coordinating council and similar groups, to do something constructive about the crime situation instead of merely talking about it. We cannot afford to sit by with flippant unconcern. The community will rally around the standard of the progressive, virile and intelligent judge who will point the way to cooperation.

We know that home conditions in many instances make a boy or girl delinquent. Every one has his pet

theory on the principal causes of delinquency. I should be inclined to say that the primary cause is incompetent parental control. The home of the average delinquent is a bedlam of horrors, overcrowded, unsanitary, uninviting,—small wonder that children take on antisocial patterns. Most of our delinquents come from broken homes or homes where parents are drunk, disorderly, fault-finding, unintelligent and utterly unsympathetic toward their children. In the juvenile court, by working with the parents as well as the child, we endeavor to correct the conditions. But that will not suffice. It is the duty of the community to mobilize its resources for preventive and constructive work with the family, and the family, in turn, should be taught to assume its own responsibility to the community. To this end we should demand of the community that it support an adequate probation department, visiting nurses, other social agencies for family and group work, a socialized police department, effective health and building laws. It should actively assume its responsibility toward the family in trouble.

#### *The Function of the School*

The schools are an important part of the community. They are not doing their part to reduce delinquency. In fact, the schools are the greatest feeders for the juvenile court. By their incompetent handling of the maladjusted child they are unwittingly doing much to spread delinquency. It may sound paradoxical that an institution of learning should encourage delinquency, but it is true. When he describes the juvenile court as an unnecessary and, in a sense, an anomalous institution, Dr. Eliot concludes that the work of the court and its probation office could, and should, be performed by the school. He does concede, rather gratuitously, that the juvenile court "can

serve as a valuable barometer of the conditions affecting children—of what might be called 'the delinquent pressure,' or as Ferri might say, the 'degree of criminal saturation' of the community." I have heard school men say the same thing.

But does the community know how poorly the schools are equipped to handle their problem children? If the school sends a never-ending line of children into our juvenile courts, confessing their failure to understand or prescribe for them, it thereby pays a compliment to the superior facilities and understanding of the court. The school has the average child from the age of five or six. It is utterly amazing how little the school knows about the home lives, the personalities, the abilities and disabilities of its own pupils.

School officials bring cases into court without case histories, mental examinations or other information. Most schools do not have any clinical psychological facilities. The cases are generally presented by an old-fashioned attendance officer and teachers and principals do not appear. It is necessary for the probation officers to make a thorough investigation including a psychological and psychiatric examination if it can be arranged. Thus fortified by scientific knowledge the court can tell the schools about their maladjusted pupils.

This should not be the function of the court. The community should provide adequate special and ungraded classes for children; every school system should have a mental hygiene clinic. The school, with a staff especially trained to teach and handle children, should solve its own problems instead of dumping them into the lap of the juvenile court. Of course, we do not desire to attack the school system. But judges should not hesitate to tell the community how the schools are fostering delinquency by their lack of facilities and their failure to educate the

child according to his mental and physical abilities. We have too often seen the terrible effects of mass education. In the juvenile court, we believe in "individualized" justice. In education, the same principle should be applied.

The juvenile court should avail itself of the services and facilities of the social and character-building agencies of the community. No legislation is necessary to bring this about. The court has the right to place children on probation and can dictate the terms of the probationary period. To this end, the services of such agencies as the Y.M.C.A., boys' and girls' clubs, Big Brother and Big Sister Associations and similar groups, may be called upon by the judge who will undoubtedly get a quicker response. In recent years we have found we could do much for the children in our court by securing the aid of local relief agencies. If the judge sees the forces of evil which propelled a child into court, he must call upon the community to overcome these forces by the forces of good. The judge stands as it were at the fountain head of justice. He should observe wherein the community has been deficient in its treatment of youth. I repeat what I have said before: juvenile delinquency is a product of, and the responsibility of, the community. But since the community is so often unaware of its shortcomings or oblivious to its responsibilities, those of us who are in the court must speak out for the child and do all in our power to bring him into contact with the best elements and the best forces in community life.

Of course the juvenile court has been under attack—and what institution has not been in recent years? I do admit that we shall have to change our methods as time and expediency may dictate. But after all, do not let us forget and let the community remember it too, that we are still a very young institution. I am willing to rest our case on the statement of Dr. Lou:

"After all is said, a socialized juvenile court, under whatever name it may be called, will always be needed to protect and correct the children of the community. . . . The juvenile court as a clinic, a social agency, and a legal institution is so far the best instrument ever devised by society to handle children's problems outside the home, the school, and other social organizations. It may become more socialized and its methods may become more and more scientific, but its judicial and parental character will continue, at least for generations to come. As civilization advances, a better and finer agency may be evolved to handle problems that the juvenile court now handles, but unless that agency actually demonstrates its higher value as a substitute, the juvenile court will remain to serve as a fountain of mercy, truth and justice to our handicapped children."

## The Probation Triangle

CECIL B. WIENER

*Judge, Children's Court, Buffalo, New York*

A TRIANGLE has a meaning to a mathematician different from that which it has to a novelist, dramatist, or motion picture scenario writer; yet who can deny that it also has meaning to probation officers, probationers, and judges who decree wisely, or unwisely, probation for certain offenders against law and order. In the days when I studied geometry I made the unwilling acquaintance of triangles, scalene, isosceles, equilateral, right, obtuse, and oblique angled. That classification gave more variety than the two men and one woman, or two women and one man theme gives to the purveyor of romance, mystery, and sex.

For the purpose of illustration, however, I am thinking in terms of a right angled triangle because there is something about such a triangle that savors of being square, or at least rectangular. I like the connotation of right as embodied in rectus. I like to build my triangle with a judge, for of course he enters into the picture, standing perpendicularly, not so high as to be out of sight, nor so lofty as not to know what is going on below him; the probation officer horizontal, on the level, and supporting the principles embodied in the court, bearing some of the load of the long line of trouble indicated by the hypotenuse representing the probationer, never letting him fall lower nor slip further, but steadying him, and being ever mindful of his presence. All three form a figure which has value, strength, and under certain condi-

tions, beauty. I could carry my simile further, but I know there is danger in carrying it too far.

At least it is evident that the two individuals who loom largest in this situation are the probation officer and the probationer. Because the judge is not so important in the developing program, let us dispose of him. He stands erect, firm, and untouchable, not to be pulled down or swayed by political influence, personal bias, or favoritism, not bent, wabbly nor infirm by reason of sentimentality or mawkishness. Conscious of rectitude, he has carefully arrived at the conclusion, after an adjudication, admission, or conviction of wrong, that the person whom he is going to place on probation can respond to such treatment; that the prospective probationer is willing to work with his probation officer to change conditions, habits, impulses, and conduct to conform to at least minimum standards of accepted social behavior; that his life, after all the circumstances of his past are considered, has not shown that such treatment would inevitably be foolish and unjustified.

How has the judge arrived at such conclusion? He has had some personal knowledge of the man; he has observed his demeanor in the courtroom; he knows some of the facts that caused his conviction; he has viewed him through the eyes of his attorney, and he has seen him from the presentation of the district attorney; he has read a careful social investigation made by a well trained probation officer which presented in clear, sharp outline those facts in the man's earlier life that shaped and moulded him. He has learned from this report what his early education was, the kind of parents and type of home that sheltered and nurtured him; his physical environmental influences, his companions, his recreation; his vocational training if any, his work record; his married life, his relationships with wife and children; his physical and

mental status, his intellectual capacity; his religious motivation and expression, something of his ideals and hopes, his attitude toward his errors, his sense of failure, his remorse, his faith, his courage. The judge has talked to the probation officer who compiled the history; he has talked to the chief probation officer who reviewed the case study; he has supplemented this when necessary by interviews with the psychiatrist or social worker who could give more information through other experiences with the man. His intention to put the man on probation has the real approval of the probation officer and his chief; the judge himself honestly believes that probation is the proper treatment for this offender, that he will derive more benefit from such judicial potion than from any other prescription such as severance from society outside stone walls. After words of warning, encouragement, inspiration or confidence, the judge reverts to his aloof and upright position.

What of the probation officer? Earlier we said he was on the level, straight-forward and honest. A man who believes in his work, he is not a purely political appointee. He is intelligent, has faith in the worth of human beings, has a reverence or at least a respect for the personality of each probationer. While he can see his faults, he tries to learn the causes which have produced or developed them; he endeavors, by his understanding of these liabilities of character and their origin, to interpret them to his probationer who by comprehension can help himself to change them. Through a knowledge of his own desires and aims, the probation officer can serve his perhaps less articulate but more dynamic charge the better, because if the Colonel's lady and Judy O'Grady are sisters under the skin, it is equally true that the desire for happiness, satisfaction, and recognition is just as strong in Richard Roe as in Mr. P. O. Different ex-

perience in life may have made them strive for such goals through widely different means, and attainment may decrease social good in one case and increase it in the other.

The probation officer who takes upon himself the role of God and says to himself, consciously or unconsciously, "Vengeance is mine, I will repay"; whose one desire is to trap his probationer, to hound, nag, and humiliate him; who is forever thrusting forward his many shortcomings; whose heavy hand is ever ready to fall with arresting touch; whose contacts are limited to an indifferent or disdainful or barked conversation, or to a cursory checkup visit at home or factory; who tears down each defense and exposes frailties by indiscriminate conversation with neighbors or acquaintances; who throws no concealing veil over some stark fact of his client's life, learned because of his position; who gibes at his excuses, who is never willing to give him the benefit of a doubt; who pours the oil of additional fault-finding on the fire of a complaining employer, relative, or friend; that man is a probation officer but in name, he should not be allowed to pass for one. That we have such in the profession cannot be denied. That some are protected by judges who should refuse to countenance such attitudes, cannot be gainsaid. Perhaps these misnomers are in need of therapeutic treatment, but until they have it and are cured they should not be allowed to spread fear, antagonism and despair among those who are compelled to report to them.

Is an unstable, emotional, psychopathic individual who drinks to excess and is seen in such condition by his probationers, the type of person who should be selected as a probation officer? Is the man or woman who emphasizes the importance of his position and his power, who is quick to see affronts, in any way different from the kind of police officer who swings his billy unjustifiably over the

head of the man for "defying an officer," or who subjects his victim to brutal buffeting to secure an admission? Such a probation officer is not unlike the layman who spreads stories of the coddling of prisoners in our prisons, and cites as an example the size of the dining hall or the fact that the laundry chute is made of Monel metal, as though for both of these iniquities the consigned prisoner, who did not design the place of his incarceration, draw the specifications or award the contracts, is, of course, properly charged!

If the judge knows that he has a man of such calibre serving as probation officer, and allows him to continue in such capacity, when he has the power of removal, and permits this man to pursue the high-handed tenor of his way unchecked, then our upright judge becomes a fallen pillar of justice and a bad public servant. (I thought that the judge had already played his role and departed, but apparently he took advantage of a forgotten entrance, and we now direct him to another exit.)

Let us turn to the probationer, identified in our triangle by the longest, therefore the weakest, position, swinging perilously between "Thou shalt not," and "Thou must." What does probation mean to him,—another chance? If so, for what? A break? What kind? His contact with his probation officer should soon confirm or confute his ideas of probation. He should find that probation means an opportunity to lead an orderly life in which he will be aided and encouraged by friendly, intelligent advice and help, a chance to redirect his activities into useful and satisfactory channels. He will be urged to recognize his failings and errors and be assisted by the kindly constructive criticism, patience and encouragement of his probation officer to fight his own battles against his weaknesses, wrong thinking, and ill-advised action. Since reformation cannot be forced upon a man

from without but assuredly must be the result of his own desires and adjustments, the probation officer must be the type of personality to challenge the admiration of his charge, win his loyalty or friendship, create opportunities for greater self-expression in his client, discover hidden strengths, seek avenues for growth and liberation of spirit. How can this be done? Not in a minute, an hour, or a day. But when the probation officer undeterred by lapses and retrogression, knows and likes his man, strives to help him to help himself, faces discouragement cheerfully, keeps his own emotional stability, never loses his sense of humor, is firm, reliable and fair, alert to find new clues for understanding and varied ways of meeting needs, he is giving something to his probationer that may vitalize and aid in his re-creation. Sometimes the role of the probation officer may be one of interested passivity. I do not mean by that just sitting silent while the probationer talks on aimlessly. Something more is involved, a quickening of energy, an access of ambition, an increase of hope just from contact with a strong, vibrant personality, though admonitions are absent and words few.

The probation officer knows what reinforcements he must employ to aid his probationer in overcoming the enemies to his success. He will not fail to see that medical care, if indicated, is available; that work, if possible is provided, and if that is not instantly procurable, that relief is given for immediate necessities. If his client's familial ties need strengthening, he will not forget to be of service at that most important point, and if he has not the required knowledge or skill, he will enlist the proper social agency to join forces with him in rehabilitation. As the probation officer finds strength and inspiration for his daily work through companionship, communion, art, nature, music, play, and exercise, he will not fail to pro-

vide something to serve and inspire his probationer, to feed his soul and steel his character. What sources he must tap for that life-giving stream depend upon the probationer; here, however, is one of the times when the probation officer must do more than point the way: he must lead his charge to the brink and place the cup within his hand, must help, if need be, carry it to the other's lips; and whenever the man is thirsty for that water, the officer must take the journey with him, must not leave him alone in the shadows but stay with him until the day dawns.

Remembering that our typical probationer is good material, that the officer is well trained and qualified, we have every reason to feel that our prognosis is good. Surely, if not rapidly, our long line of the triangle strengthens: it no longer lies supine. Wavering at first, then stronger and more erect, it raises itself, confidently facing each new trial with courage and steadfastness of purpose, supported by the consciousness of an understanding, stimulating, wise friend, until the day when a man tried, trusted, and triumphant, is taken by his officer to the judge for a discharge. The record is read and the two supporting sides of the triangle, the judge and the probation officer, realize that their work has been good. Perhaps unconsciously they repeat the prayer of the ancient psalmist: "Establish Thou the work of our hands"—hands which have been gleaning in the fields of men. As the judge expresses his pleasure at the progress made, offers his congratulations on the probationer's victory and discharges him from further supervision as a self-directing individual, the long line bends back to form the four sided square of justice, integrity, social independence, and character development which marks in some degree every responsible citizen.

In the Rodin museum in Philadelphia are two pieces

of bronze, so much the same, yet so dreadful in their difference. The hand of the Devil encompasses the vague form of a man and a woman, squeezing and crushing them from human semblance into shapeless earth; the hand of God creates from sodden clay the beautiful and strong forms of a man and woman to give joy and expression to life. Here is inspiration for workers with human beings: which hand do we aspire to be?

## VII CRIME CONTROL

---

### Contributors to Correctional Science

SHELDON GLUECK

*Professor of Criminology, Harvard Law School*

EVERY probation officer has a chance, if he wants badly enough to take it, not only to do the daily task of investigating and supervising a certain number of probationers as best he can, but to add his little contribution to the sum total of man's hard-won knowledge. That is the part of him which will endure the longest after he is gone. That is the part which society will value the most in the long run. That is the part which will enable succeeding probation officers, judges, teachers and others who deal with the ills of both human beings and civilization, to carry on their daily tasks a little more successfully than before.

Somebody has aptly said that the difference between adequate research in the social sciences and the kind of work that probation officers and judges ordinarily do is the difference between "making butter and spreading it." Cannot probation officers and judges contribute a great deal more than they have in the past to the making of correctional butter? We college teachers spend most of our effort in theorizing, in trying to deduce general principles and laws from the mass of discrete, live human phenomena that people like you have to deal with practically every day. It is you who are on the firing line of stumbling, twisted and unhappy life. Whether we are entitled to do so or not, we have almost completely taken

over the role of the maker of correctional butter. But that butter needs constant testing and tasting to keep it fresh and nourishing. It is you who should inform us how our ideas need to be modified in the light of practical difficulties. Our job is to try to stimulate you from time to time to take a fresh point of view; to see your daily work as something more than a passing from case to case, however important, necessary and pressing that may be; to see it as laying down a series of useful rational principles of some enduring validity. Just as the patient, individual work of marine animals gradually builds up a strong coral reef though the animals themselves die off, so the work of the wise probation officer and sentence-imposing judge should gradually build up a science and art of correction and prevention which will endure and be socially useful long after the individual workers have passed on.

But serious obstacles lie in the path of even the most inventive and devoted probation officers and judges. In the background of any discussion of what the probation officer and the judge might do, with the collaboration of the researcher and teacher, to construct a more effective science and art of correction, there hover the realities of the changing American scene. No informed thinker in the field of criminal justice can fail to take into account at least some of the elements of the culture medium of the time, both in defining and in evaluating the tasks of the modern correctional administrator. We have time to recall but a few of these before passing on to some suggestions for making probation officers and sentencing judges more active participants in making the butter or building the coral reef of correction.

Consider first the moral milieu of the time. In dealing with individual offenders, the probation officer and the judge are trying to sweep back what is no less than

a vast tide of moral transformation. How, for example, can the officer preach sex morality to criminals, when all about them many non-criminal people of good position and social esteem are today violating sex conventions as a matter of course? How can one answer the offender who cynically philosophizes, "Steal a railroad or an oil well and you land in the cabinet; steal a watch worth twenty-five dollars and you land in prison!"?

Secondly, probation officers as well as other administrators of justice today are met with the striking phenomenon of a tremendous mobility of the population, which means not only that offenders are harder to supervise, but, something more serious, that they rarely strike root in any community long enough to be under the control of community public opinion or to benefit from the friendly advice of neighborhood leaders.

Thirdly, there is the overwhelming and perplexing unemployment problem which the probation officer, even more than any other community workers, has to face. When we consider any problem in modern criminology against the broad background of socio-economic difficulties, we get a new slant on our work. For example, in recent years there has been a great deal of agitation about prison labor. In a book published a few years ago a leading authority on the subject gave it as his opinion that, "There are two main reasons for the unemployment of prisoners, poor management and the competition of prison-made goods with those produced by free labor." This diagnosis is sound as far as it goes, but it does not go far enough. The creaking machinery of our general economic system is to be charged with primary responsibility for the idleness of prisoners as of others. For when many millions of non-criminal would-be producers are forced to remain idle in a country teeming with rich natural resources, it seems a little naive to try to put

prisoners to work. We must, to be sure, try our utmost to keep them occupied; but the probation officer who has made a genuine and serious effort to get employment for his clients without success, is not a little justified in asking society and its government to assume some of the responsibility for the recidivism of his charges.

Fourthly, probation officers, judges and others are victims of a conflict of penal philosophies underlying our various laws, procedures and peno-correctional devices. Probation cannot be successfully conducted from the humanitarian and scientific viewpoint of modern social work, as long as other instruments and institutions tied up with probation have different and contradictory objectives. A probation officer starts with a distinct handicap if every representative of organized society who has preceded him in the process has expressed a vindictive or purely punitive attitude in his contacts with the offender.

I shall not take time to remind you of other obstacles to effective probation work which are more or less beyond the control of probation officers and judges. We hesitate to dwell longer on this pessimistic note; but we should be very unrealistic indeed if we did not take into account the culture medium in which probation officers and judges have to do their work.

Looking at this matter more optimistically, we observe the obvious fact that some group in society must assume prime responsibility for coping with the practical, day-to-day problems presented by the ever-present crime menace; and since probation officers and judges have been selected for this difficult job they can at least approach it with a full sense of its enormity and complexity and a determined effort to introduce intelligence into their work. Moreover, there is a good chance that by beginning with small units, as probation officers and judges have to do, that is, by dealing with individual and re-

gional problems, we may all be able to build from the bottom up a socio-economic structure more suited to endure than that so far developed. It seems more likely that fundamental and healthy reform will come from the intimate experiments of those wrestling with the realities of life in the small laboratories of home, neighborhoods, communities and courts, rather than through the imposition from on top of a universal scheme of betterment. But in this work, probation, parole and similar officials, as well as judges and others concerned with the crime problem, must collaborate continuously with researchers and scholars.

*Some Contributions of the Probation Officer*

The first field of fruitful collaboration is that in which the causal mechanisms of delinquency and criminality are operative. Daily, probation officers and judges deal with one of the most difficult problems of all human thought,—the philosophic and scientific concept of causation. Hence the first work in which you have a chance as alert practitioners of your art to make butter as well as spread it, is to clarify further the problem of the etiology of delinquency and of recidivism. I distinguish these two because from researches already made there is a basis for the hypothesis that the forces involved in bringing about a repetition of criminal conduct on the part of offenders are not always the same as those implicit in the original delinquency.

The causal problem is the most difficult one in the entire realm of criminology. Tons of literature and researches have been devoted to the study of crime causation; yet it is a fact borne out by painstaking analysis of published reports, that almost invariably the dizzy statistical superstructure involved in such researches has been built up on the wobbly foundations of unverified,

inaccurately observed and incomplete raw materials. Not all the refined statistical technique in the world can transform data not founded on verified fact into truth. Even some professors of criminology have been guilty of rearing lofty statistical cathedrals on muddy foundations and shifting sands. Here is where the alert and careful probation officer can make a great contribution: he can supply the researcher with the bricks and mortar for solid criminological structures. If each probation officer would make up his mind that regardless of heavy caseloads and limitations of time, he would track down, clearly define and verify every fact in at least every second or third or even fifth case history, a few years' time would supply a tremendous quarry of reliable materials for the study of crime causation and other vital problems.

This is important, however, not only for research but for the effective performance of the daily duties of judge and probation and parole officer. Perhaps it is not altogether a digression to point out something which even historians of penology have almost uniformly overlooked and which seems relevant to this discussion. Historically, practically all great reforms in peno-correctional structure have been made without a sufficient preliminary thinking through of indispensable conditions, and without adequate tools for their success.

Take the juvenile court for example. While the humanitarian impulse played a role in its origin, the proponents of the juvenile court did not sufficiently keep in mind that its success in terms of correcting delinquents depends in large measure on adequate tools, including the existence and collaboration of other related social agencies. How far can a probation officer get if his community lacks even the rudiments of a sound leisure-time program for children? How far can he get if his community contains only traditional schools with a routine mass-

treatment educational program? If there are no clinical facilities? If other agencies of justice have so backward a conception of their functions that the probation officer must start with the handicap of the damage already done by police stations, lockups and jails?

Take the reformatory movement as another illustration. The idea behind that development was to send to such institutions only first offenders. But the basic requisite,—the means of determining full prior records of delinquency and criminality—was long absent and still does not exist in most jurisdictions. The same applies to such measures as "fourth offender" laws, the whole principle of which involves a complete and verified prior criminal record.

Or consider the crucial problem of classification. Early classification distinguished between male and female, adult and juvenile. Modern classification is a refinement of this for purposes of original distribution of offenders to appropriate institutions, their individualized treatment within these various establishments, and their release on parole. Statutes providing for such advanced ideas of correctional treatment are little better than dead letters so long as the instruments and trained personnel for scientific classification are not supplied. And in not a few regions this is the case, even down to the present.

Or consider the entire philosophy of the indeterminate sentence. The idea of that was, as the early proponents put it, that an offender should not be released from prison until he was "cured." But in the debates over the original indeterminate sentences very little if anything is to be found about the basic issue: *how will it be known that an offender has been cured?* The analogy to medicine sounds reasonable enough, but a wide gulf exists between the signs of cure in the medical correctional fields.

And so the indeterminate sentence was adopted before tools had been forged to make it operate with reasonable efficiency.

Finally, consider probation. As soon as probation was deemed to be something more than a mere lenient disposition of so-called "deserving cases," necessary tools of investigation and supervision as well as trained users of those tools had to be supplied for a reasonable assurance of success. Yet in many places the probation system was established before both the instruments and the trained personnel were at hand.

One could give other illustrations of the thesis that some of the most humane and forward-looking modifications of the ancient vindictive-retributive system of criminal justice came into the world like Richard III, deformed, unfinished, before their time. Of course, in the setting up of social institutions one cannot hold off reforms until conditions are perfect. Pressing problems will not conveniently postpone themselves until science has caught up. But one can do at least the following things: first, recognize at the outset that certain associated conditions, necessary instruments and a technically trained personnel are very necessary to the reasonable success of the new enterprise; second, proceed immediately to develop those tools and train those workers; third, set up contemporaneously with the new reform the means of a continuous audit of its work. In this way adjustments may be made as the experiment progresses, and the new social institution need not be allowed to crystallize too early with all its original mistakes upon its head. Finally, do not make too rash claims for the new procedure.

To return from this digression, the probation officer can do much in belatedly furnishing the necessary tools for the reasonable success of a crime-corrective system.

In fact he is in a peculiarly strategic position to do so. If, for example, he finds himself in a state which does not have even a decent criminal records bureau, he can bring out that fact at every opportunity and urge legislation or administrative action for its establishment. If, again, he finds that delinquents come largely from a certain region of the city, and that the particular neighborhood is not adequately equipped with schools and healthy leisure time facilities, it is his duty to bring this generalization, based on his experience with many individual cases, to the attention of those who will do something about it. If he finds that children are being locked up in ordinary jails he cannot remain silent. If he finds that psychiatric and psychologic aid would be helpful in his work he can urge the importance of clinical facilities in the administration of justice. Aided by the forward-looking judge who is not content to consider case after case without deducing general principles and social implications from his experience, the alert probation officer can thus become a guardian of the community's social health.

Therefore, both in contributing his share to the fund of reliable data out of which a science and an art of correctional treatment may some day be evolved, and in seeing and making others see the threads of connection between his individual cases and unwholesome or inadequate community conditions, the modern probation officer can perform a vital service above and beyond his day-to-day investigation and supervision.

### *Probation Technique*

But we must look to the inventive and enterprising probation officer for further aid, namely, in developing a technique of correctional treatment. No work exists in the field of crime treatment which is comparable in insight to Mary Richmond's classic *Social Diagnosis*. Perhaps a

useful handbook of treatment methods can be developed only through the intimate collaboration of probation officers, parole agents and social workers with scholars engaged in criminologic and sociologic research. But whether this will be done by the practitioner alone or with academic collaboration, it is a great social waste that so many competent probation officers, who can set down to their credit individual instances of highly ingenious and reasonably successful methods of rehabilitating offenders, have hardly attempted to draw out of their experience inductively more or less teachable principles and methods of correctional treatment. We are making an attempt in our researches in Cambridge to do this. But often the most successful methods are lost to the researcher because they have never even been recorded by the probation officer, and sometimes because the officer himself, although an able corrector of attitude and behavior, has failed to recognize the *general* implications of some technique used in one or more individual cases. Here, then, is another fruitful field in which the resourceful probation officer could churn butter. May I, in this connection, make one or two suggestions which some of the officers present may care to experiment with and record for the purpose under discussion?

Even the thoughtful probation officer sometimes overlooks rather simple yet fundamental matters in supervising the probationer. It is sometimes forgotten, for example, that no human being lives in a vacuum. Every probationer plays his part in a living, moving scene. This means that not only must the individual be studied and guided as an organic whole, but that some analysis must be made of his various social aspects or selves. He is not only the John Jones whom the judge has sentenced for larceny on the basis of a circumscribed set of facts, or even whom the clinician has found to be a psychopathic

personality but of normal intelligence and of normal health. He is John Jones the husband, John Jones the father, John Jones the worker, John Jones "one of the boys" to his corner group or lodge, and the like.

Each of these aspects of himself has been built up very subtly and complexly by a series of experiences most of which it is now too late to reconstruct. He may even present a startlingly different aspect to each of these groups and social institutions to whom he is tied by many invisible psychologic bonds as well as by more tangible ones. He may, for instance, be a witty, tolerant individual with "the boys," and an irritable and unreasonable husband or father. Therefore, both in the diagnosis and in the supervision of a case, it is helpful for the probation officer to remember that he must analyze John Jones into his different selves before drawing his picture in the shape of an investigation report; and when he comes to supervise John Jones, he must deliberately draw into the theatre of action all the major social groups in which the probationer is a participant. If the probation officer tries to manipulate John Jones as a whole without knowing his various aspects, he will often be surprised to find resistance or inconsistency of response in one respect, cooperation in another. For while John Jones in the records of the police and the court is a synthetic type, the synthesis is often far from perfect, there being disintegrating pulls in his personality. John Jones, to emphasize, is essentially not an entity, but John Jones the husband, the father, the workman, the union member, the strike breaker, the democrat, republican or socialist, the consulter of astrologers, and the like. If the officer does little or nothing to rearrange the probationer's attitudes in respect to various social institutions in which his personality finds nourishment and expression, he can make but little headway.

To the technique of doing this, inventive probation officers can make a substantial contribution. One suggestion might be experimented with. The officer might see if he cannot give the probationer a new orientation, a new point of view, toward his conduct or the situation or institution involved. It is surprising how often, by bringing into the discussion one or two new facts, a person is able suddenly to change, sometimes radically, the attitude of another. After the officer has defined the specific orientation of his client toward some other individual—his friend, enemy, wife, child—it is to the officer's advantage deliberately to look beneath the surface and into side alleys which the probationer seems to have ignored. By bringing before his client new facts thereby discovered, the officer may make him suddenly see the entire situation in a new light, just as when climbing a mountain you suddenly get a breath-taking view on rounding a corner.

The first psychological task of the probation officer might therefore be to try to analyze the things his client sees, as well as other causes for the latter's resistant and antisocial attitudes. Sometimes the probationer will drop a hint which may turn out, on more intensive investigation by the officer, to be the key to the entire situation. Often people conceive of themselves quite differently from our conception of them. Unless we discover their own picture of themselves and then try to understand it and deliberately bring into it new and illuminative elements, we are likely to find it almost impossible to dig down into their fundamental attitudes. All merely external effort on the part of the probation officer may be temporarily deterrent, but it works no reasonably permanent reform because it does not cut to the core of attitude and habit in respect to the various persons, groups and institutions out of which the client's personality has

been spun and into which it has by the same process been woven.

Let me illustrate by something that happened in Massachusetts in the early days of the Norfolk Prison Colony, a promising correctional experiment. The inmates—all felons and many with prior criminal records, who had been through the usual rake's progress of police, courts, prisons, police courts, prisons and so on, *ad infinitum*—were now for the first time being treated as nearly as possible like human beings requiring understanding and aid. They were allowed to stand on their own feet to the extent of their ability and to assume partial responsibility for their futures by participating in the government of the institution. To put this differently, they were given the opportunity to develop new attitudes toward themselves as well as toward others.

On one occasion the head of the institution, whose ideas of penology are altogether different from those of the traditional warden, was away in town. In his absence another official trained in the old way of doing things was in charge. One of the inmates complained that someone had stolen a sweater from him, and he was greatly put out about that particular theft because his wife had knitted the sweater. The officer in charge did what might be done in a typical prison. He ordered the prisoner at the head of the inmate council, an old-time burglar, to "go out and get that sweater." But by this method the sweater was not forthcoming. When the superintendent returned he was told what had happened, with a strong hint that the sweater incident proved that inmate self-government was unworkable and that the men had to be treated repressively. The superintendent sent for the head of the inmate council. He told him that the entire project was at stake in this affair; that unless the inmate council cooperated with the authorities,

unless it could be trusted to find missing articles, the experiment might just as well be abandoned. Thereupon the head of the council went out and soon brought back the missing sweater. The superintendent asked: "Now why couldn't you have done this in the first place?" The answer was: "Well, how would you like it? Why that officer lined us up and searched us as if we was a bunch of crooks!"

Now while there was some tongue-in-cheek cynical humor in this remark, there was also evidence of a new orientation of the inmates toward themselves. They had been treated in this institution as if they were self-respecting, responsible and trustworthy human beings. This sudden reversion to the older methods, this lining up of the men and searching them as if they could not be trusted, was a rude shock to the new conception of themselves which they had been evolving under the stimulus of the humanitarian regime. Seeing themselves from a new point of view—that shown them by the superintendent—they viewed themselves differently from their customary angle—that built up by the police and the ordinary penal institutions to which they had theretofore been subjected. They had been given a new orientation.

So the probation officer can try to discover where each of his charges stands in respect to the main avenues of activity, of persons and social groups in which he is involved. Knowing this, he will be able to see what the probationer sees. Then by changing the latter's point of view—both by working personally with him and by modifying the attitudes of others—he may be able to effect those transformations which are necessary for permanent reform and rehabilitation. If the officer wants his charge to see something different from what he saw before, he must change either the position of his client or the things upon which he looks. Sometimes he does

this essentially by giving him access to new and wholesome experiences, so that gradually it is a changed person who is viewing the scene, even though the environment has remained essentially the same. Sometimes he does it by introducing new elements into the scene, so that the client comes to see things in his personal, domestic, employment, recreational, religious and other situations that he did not see before. Often the process is a combination of the two.

Whether the officer succeeds in reforming the probationer or not is important; but from the point of view of this discussion it is even more important, for the purpose of developing a science and art of correctional treatment, that the probation officer deliberately experiment with such changes in orientation. He might keep careful diaries of each case treated intensively: what he did in respect to the offender's chief attitudes, and why; what thereupon happened, and if possible why; how the probation officer then changed the experiment, and what happened next, and so on. If a sufficient number of probation officers go at their jobs in some such way, the research worker may hope some day to have the materials out of which may be built up a science and an art, rather than hunches and guess-work, in correctional treatment.

#### *What the Judge May Contribute*

Thus far I have stressed the possible contributions of the probation officer beyond the efficient performance of his traditional tasks, mentioning the judge only incidentally. But judges, too, have an opportunity and a duty to improve the administration of justice. One of the most ignored yet absolutely basic features in the great wave of penologic reform of the present century is the sentencing function of the courts. Unless principles are worked out whereby judges will be enabled

to decide more scientifically than they usually do today what to do with different types of offenders, we cannot expect probation and other correctional devices to be any too successful.

The judge's position is a very difficult one in this matter of sentencing. In the first place, he has little or no analyzed and objectified experience, based on the study of actual outcomes of correctional treatment, regarding the *effects* of subjecting this or that type of offender to this or that form of sentence and treatment. Secondly, even the most sincere and able judge, devoting a good deal of time and thought to the problems of sentencing, is hampered by the paucity of methods of treatment. After all, the judicial doctor has but four or five medicines at his disposal: probation, discharge without supervision, imprisonment in two or three types of penal institutions which on the whole do not have very different regimes, and fines. Even if he gives a good deal of thought to each case, he may find his work less effective than he would like it to be because of the few alternatives the legislature has put at his disposal, and their basic similarity.

And yet judges can make vitally significant contributions to the development of a science and art of correction. The ingenious, inventive judge can encourage probation officers and peno-correctional administrators to experiment with a greater variety of treatment practices. Probation, for example, might be developed along three or four different lines in respect to intensity of supervision, prospective probationers being placed in different classes of probation dependent upon the treatment-types to which they belong. So also the court might be furnished periodically with the institutional and parole histories of the offenders it has sentenced, in order to compare sentences with response to treatment. Most impor-

tant, the forward-looking judge ought to be willing to experiment with the use of prediction-tables as an aid to his sentencing work.

The possible value of this last cannot be overemphasized. The books and reports are full of talk about "individualization" of punishment. At present individualization too often consists largely of a compound of hunches and the unanalyzed experience and guess work of the judge. Prognostic tables, being based on an analysis of actual results, would compel judges to individualize in terms of *objectified* experience. Suppose, for illustration, that a judge had before him separate prognostic tables based on fines, on imprisonment in a penitentiary, on imprisonment in a reformatory, on probation, or, even more finely discriminated, on results actually obtained in similar cases by different probation officers in his court. And suppose that the judge, upon consultation of the prognostic tables, found that prisoner X, according to past experiences of his court with other prisoners who in certain relevant respects resembled X, had, say, nine out of ten chances of continuing in crime if sent to prison, seven out of ten if sent to a reformatory, five out of ten if placed on probation under the oversight of Officer Y, and only one out of ten if supervised by Officer Z. Clearly, the judge would thereby be in possession of very pertinent data upon which to discriminate between alternatives in disposing of the case.

The illustration is of course extreme. Experience with crime surveys must convince one that the success obtained by any of the devices thus far invented by society for the treatment of criminality is not nearly so high as we should like to have it. But there is a difference in effectiveness between, say, probation under proper auspices, and imprisonment under proper or improper auspices. By objectifying and organizing his experience

the judge can greatly improve his exercise of discretion in imposing sentence. By modifying these tables on the basis of further experiment, he can be doing truly scientific work beyond the daily task of imposing sentences. He can contribute to the making of butter in addition to spreading it.

For not only in the testing of *existing* alternative instruments of correctional treatment, but in inventing new ones suitable to different treatment-types, predictive tables might be of great value. Suppose it were found that four-fifths of prisoners with a well-defined syndrome of certain individual traits and social backgrounds fail to respond satisfactorily to *any* of the existing methods of correction. Suppose an experiment was then deliberately set up whereby an altogether new form of treatment was employed, or more intensive application was made of an existing type, and it was then discovered that only half the offenders with the designated traits and background failed to abandon their criminalistic activities during a reasonable test-period. That would be a social demonstration of great value and would lead to definite improvement of treatment facilities.

But some of you will doubtless think that courts utilizing prognostic tables would become mere rubber stamps or slot machines. Some perhaps would, and some probably are such today. But let me emphasize that it is of course not intended that judges or members of administrative tribunals should dispose of cases by the mere mechanical, routine following of the treatment suggested by prognostic tables. Individual differences and the state of public opinion at different times will still play a role. But a much more effective exercise of judicial discretion ought to result if the process of distinguishing one offender and one form of treatment from another is grounded in organized experience with hundreds of thou-

sands of similar cases. Sound individualization compares the single offender under immediate consideration with those of a like type who have preceded him and about whose reaction to treatment of different kinds organized knowledge is at hand; yet sound individualization also takes into account the points of difference that make each person a unique organism. As experience becomes more and more refined, creative thinking of judges and probation officers in each single case will be added to the mass statistical results of many preceding cases, and thus the predictive instruments will become sharper and more effective.

A great sentencing judge is a great social physician. We are accustomed to think that this is an ultra-modern definition of the judge, a heresy invented by those pesky critters, the few lawyers who have taken the trouble to study the psychologic and social conditions of crime, as well as the nature of the judicial process. But the definition is at least as old as Aristotle who, over twenty-two hundred years ago, sized up the work of justice and the judge in these revealing words:

Now men suppose that acting unjustly rests entirely with themselves, and conclude that acting justly is therefore also easy. But this is not really so; to have connection with a neighbor's wife, or to strike one's neighbor, or to give the money with one's hand, is of course easy and rests with one's self. But doing these acts with certain inward dispositions neither is easy nor rests entirely with one's self. And in like way, the knowing what is just and what unjust. Men think no great instance of wisdom because it is not hard to comprehend those things of which the laws speak. They forget that these are not just actions, except accidentally; to be just they must be done and distributed in a certain manner. And this is a more difficult task than knowing what things are wholesome; for in this branch of knowledge it is an easy matter to know honey, wine, hellebore, cautery or the use of the knife, but the knowing how one should administer these with a view

to health, and to whom and at what time, amounts in fact to being a physician.

Time does not permit further detail of exposition or illustration of the ways in which the forward-looking probation officer and the creative judge not afraid of experiment, can contribute to a science and art of correction and prevention of crime. Certain straws in the wind in recent years indicate that a select company of probation officers and judges are more and more welcoming the suggestions of theoretical researchers, and that an equally select company of professors are more and more recognizing the sobering influence upon their thinking of the realism of practical workers on the firing line. I look forward to an even more extensive and fruitful collaboration. Some of my keenest students at Harvard have been practical probation and parole officers and other administrators of justice. They have supplied the acid test of feasibility to the theories and principles presented in class by instructor and students. On the other hand, I am pardonably proud to say that they have also received hints which they found of practical value in their work.

These open-minded practical workers and theoreticians, who are willing and eager to engage in a fruitful collaboration to improve the processes of justice, should ultimately evolve an administration that is humane without being soft-headed, and scientific without being hard-hearted. So far as a more effective handling of the crime problem is concerned, I haven't the slightest doubt that it is they, and not the reactionaries, who will inherit the earth. And so I salute them and wish them well!

# Prison Reorganization and Crime Control

JOSEPH N. ULMAN

*Judge, Supreme Bench, Baltimore;*

*Chairman, Prison Industries Reorganization  
Administration*

**P**ERHAPS I can make my position on prison reorganization and crime control clear at the outset by quoting from a speech of two years ago when my subject was probation:

The task that faces the criminologist is to work out an inclusive program, a program based upon a realistic study of the phenomena of crime and the treatment of criminals. A start has been made toward the collection of accurate statistics; this must be encouraged so that the problem to be solved may be stated with precision. The criminal law and procedure in the trial of criminal cases, must be overhauled. Legal obstacles, whether arising from statutory, common-law, or even constitutional provisions, must be removed summarily. A system must be devised that will take due account of society's more conservative attitudes but will make possible the application of an essentially new principle, the principle that the final job of the criminal law is to prevent crime, just as the final job of medicine is to prevent disease.

The keynote of such a system will be the concept that each violator of the law is an individual. He must be studied as an individual and treated as an individual. If he is reclaimable, he must be reclaimed at the earliest possible time. If he is irreclaimable, he must be segregated or confined for life where he will do the least harm. This will call for entirely new methods of court procedure, for an equally new concept of the problems of imposing sentence. Probation will be used to an extent undreamed of; but probation departments will be manned so that they can supervise their probationers both adequately and helpfully, so that they can guide them to exchange old, bad habits for new, good habits. Prisons and prison management will differ from anything so far devised. The principle of classification will need to be extended and

amplified until we have not only special types of institutions for special types of prisoners, but vigorously individualized treatment for the inmates of each institution. Release from prison will not mean turning men loose with a haphazard hope that they may go straight; instead, they will be released on parole and helped into a new and better social adjustment.

The first cost may be enormously greater than the cost of our present slipshod, mass treatment. The ultimate saving, in money and in men, will be incalculable. America is coming rapidly to see that we must have a planned economy in the business of producing and distributing material goods. If we are to prevent crime, we cannot go on much longer without a planned criminology in the business of dealing with criminals.

Though this quotation is from a speech on the subject of probation, and though today I am supposed to be talking about prison organization, I feel that I am about to make essentially the same speech that I made two years ago. This is because my thinking about crime control and such part in controlling crime as it has fallen to my lot to take, have borne in upon me with increasing emphasis the conviction that it simply won't do to think or to talk about any one social device. As I have heard our chairman say, there are as many kinds of criminals as there are kinds of men. If society is to control them and protect itself against their depredations, it must first know them and then deal with them as known individuals. They cannot be lumped together and all given the same treatment, nor can they be classified solely according to the nature of the crimes they have committed. That is to say, this cannot be done if we are in earnest about our desire to control crime and to build a better society.

I want to make a plea for sound thinking on this subject of crime and for thinking about it from many angles at once. I have read some recent and red-hot addresses on the subject which have been given wide publicity. I

wish I had the speaker's facility of expression. Moreover, I agree with everything he says about the importance of catching criminals, prosecuting them relentlessly, and dealing with them vigorously. I agree with him 100 per cent that the alliance between organized crime and politics is an unholy alliance that must be dissolved. And I am as strong as he is for hard-boiled justice for the hard-boiled criminal.

But I am afraid that sometimes this speaker's gift for emphatic expression makes him seem to say things he does not really mean. Surely no one who has thought deeply about crime can want to give the impression that every person once found guilty of an infraction of the law should be forever either a prisoner or an outcast. No thoughtful student believes this; society would not tolerate it. Nor is society ready to carry into effect the rule of cold logic and put to death every individual who commits a serious crime. Perhaps we shrink too fearfully from the death penalty; possibly we are sentimentalists on that score. But I need not remind this audience that public hangings on Tyburn Hill for pocket-picking did not diminish petty crime in London; and whether we like it or not it is true, and will remain true, that the great majority—certainly up to 95 per cent and probably over—of the men convicted of crime are not going to be executed, nor are they going to be permanently segregated from society. They are going to be tried, and most of the guilty ones are going to be convicted. By all means let us tighten up our police departments and our courts and our laws to make it harder for the guilty to escape.

But then what? Why, then, if we are as wise as we like to think we are, we shall perfect our mechanisms so that no judge in the land will allow himself to think in terms of 96 convicted burglars, 10 convicted murderers, and 1,005 convicted misdemeanants. Criminal statistics

are extremely important, and I wish they were kept better and were more reliable. But far more important is the central thought that each convict is a person and that society owes itself the paramount duty to deal with him as a person. Society needs to find out all there is to know about this person who has violated the law and having found it out, society needs to deal with him in such manner that he will stop giving trouble.

This means that many individuals now sent to penal institutions will be released on probation, *real* probation, planned probation with adequate supervision. And it means that those who go to prison will go there not for haphazard punishment, all to be treated alike, all to be herded together regardless of the kind of persons they are, and most of them kept in demoralizing idleness to brood upon their wrongs and to plot revenge upon the society that has so failed in its dealing with them. I wish I could make you all see what I saw not many weeks ago in a penitentiary less than a thousand miles from here. About 1,600 men, walking slowly about or standing still, in a narrow corridor between the doors of their cells and the outer wall of the prison. That is all they could do from morning until bed-time—walk about, stand still, or go into their cells and sit on the edges of their bunks—and their walking about was in a corridor so narrow that I had to push my way through them as through a crowd leaving the lobby of a theatre. There they were, milling about, all with nothing to do. Several were boys of sixteen, many were old men. Some were patently ill, some showed signs of mental disease, nearly all were filthy. One sat on the edge of his bunk, his throat swathed in bandages, his eyes staring straight ahead. Two days before, he had tried to kill himself; but the knife was dull and the prison doctor assured me that his wounds were not dangerous.

Now please get this. I don't paint this picture because I am a humanitarian. I'm not ashamed to be called that, nor even to be referred to as a prison reformer. But that is not the point. What I want to insist upon is that all these men and boys are in prison only temporarily. They are coming out again, some after a few months, some after many years. They are coming out to be our neighbors in freedom. What kind of neighbors will they be? Have we any reason to believe they will be good neighbors—have we any remote reason to hope so? That is the point I want to make, the utter stupidity of what organized society is doing with its criminals. Someone has said that it is much easier to forgive viciousness than to forgive stupidity. Certainly a penal system that operates to make fairly decent men bad, to make bad men worse, and then to turn them all loose to prey upon society, is the last word in social stupidity. To kill them all out of hand would be hardly greater cruelty to the prisoners; it would be much better social engineering.

A sound penal system is one that places its main emphasis upon the day of the prisoner's release. Everything ought to be thought through, planned, and operated with that day constantly in mind. It is not very important to society if the man is kept in prison three months, three years, or thirty years, provided that when he comes out of prison there is ground to hope and to believe that he will be a law-abiding person, a better instead of a worse neighbor to the rest of us. Imprisonment must be thought of and must be conducted as a preparation for the days of freedom following release. This *must* be, not primarily for the sake of the prisoner, but for the sake of society—which means for your sake and for my sake. Any other aim, any other objective is unthinkable.

*Progress in Classification and Treatment*

So much for general principles. But what can be done, what is being done? In the first place, some of our states and the Federal Government have done and are doing a great deal. Idleness has been reduced, education is not neglected, prisoners are classified according to their individual peculiarities and given appropriate work or treatment. The sick are kept apart from the healthy; tuberculosis and venereal disease, those twin scourges of the prison population, are treated and cured. The psychotic, and in some cases even the psychopathic, are given special treatment and separate care so that they will not infect the larger group with their morbidity. The young are kept apart from the older and more hardened criminals, and intelligent efforts are made to create in them new patterns of thought and action, new habits of industry, of cleanliness, of social thinking, so that they may know how to go straight. It isn't enough to want to live a decent life. A man must know how to do it, and he can be helped to know how while he is in prison, if it is the right kind of prison. I say this in spite of the discouraging evidence adduced by the Gluecks, and I accept that evidence. For I am not so foolish as to believe that any conceivable method will reform or rehabilitate every law-breaker. I know that some are bound to return to crime; but I insist that our less progressive states are doing their thoughtless and stupid best to create lasting criminal careers rather than to prevent them.

And as in so many things, lack of money combines with lack of thought to make a bad situation worse. Go about this country of ours, and you will find every possible variant in penal systems. I have spoken of the penitentiary where 1,600 idle men are getting free board and lodging—of a very bad sort, I confess—while they

plot new mischief. Unhappily, this situation is not unique. In entirely too many of our states overcrowded, dungeon-like prisons are conducted as houses of punishment, with no thought of the dehumanized product that pours out of their gates every month to commit new and more desperate crimes.

I have said that the Federal Government and some of the more progressive states have gone very far in another direction. You all know that offenders against federal law are tracked down with a new and wonderful efficiency. Once caught, they are tried promptly; political pull gets them little or no unfair advantage. And when they are convicted they become the subjects of an elaborate penological system, devised and operated, in the main, as such a system ought to be devised and operated. The federal penitentiaries do not coddle their inmates, but they do house them decently, and they do attempt to deal with them as individual human beings. Probation and parole are both used too sparingly, perhaps; and even in the federal system probation officers and parole officers have case loads that make the most effective work extremely difficult. But on the whole the Federal Government is setting a fine example for the states.

On the other hand, certain federal legislation has made the problem of the states immensely more difficult. It needs no argument to convince anybody that prisoners must work. Work at productive labor is the best, and for many, the only social medicine that can be given to maladjusted individuals. Work is education in social living, it is every man's right as it is his duty. Yet the Federal Congress, by enactment of the Hawes-Cooper law, has been instrumental in making many of our state prisons vast houses of idleness where Satan is at his traditional job. True, the states have not been free from

blame. Many of them allowed the five-year waiting period prescribed by the Hawes-Cooper law to roll past without taking effective steps to accommodate themselves to its provisions. Instead, they relied upon the assumption that the courts would declare the law unconstitutional, and pinned their hopes upon legal battles rather than intelligent planning. But now the Supreme Court has spoken. The Hawes-Cooper law is the law of the land, whether prison administrators like it or not; and every state has to do something about it.

### *Federal Aid*

At this point the Federal Government has stepped in again, this time not in the role of a repressive agency, but with an offer of help. In September, 1935, realizing the serious nature of the problems faced by the prisons of the country, where thousands of idle men are becoming daily greater menaces to society, President Roosevelt set up the Prison Industries Reorganization Administration. The purposes of this governmental agency are stated succinctly in the President's executive order:

1. In cooperation with the proper authorities of the several states and the political subdivisions thereof and the District of Columbia:

- a. To conduct surveys, studies, and investigations of the industrial operations and allied activities carried on by the several penal and correctional institutions of the states and political subdivisions thereof and the District of Columbia, and the actual and potential markets for products of such industrial operations and activities.

- b. To initiate, formulate, and recommend for approval of the President a program of projects with respect to re-planning and reorganizing the existing prison industries systems and allied prison activities of the several states and political subdivisions thereof and the District of Columbia, to the end that the industrial operations and activities of such institutions may be so reorganized as to relieve private

industry and labor of any undue burden of competition between the products of private industry and the products of such institutions; and to eliminate idleness and to provide an adequate and humane system of rehabilitation for the inmates of such institutions.

2. To recommend for the approval of the President loans or grants, or both, to the several states and political subdivisions thereof and the District of Columbia necessary to accomplish the purposes of this order, and to administer and supervise the program of projects approved by the President.

One hundred thousand dollars was set aside for this agency for administrative expense, and it has gone to work actively. I assume that you will be interested to hear what it has done. In the first place, the board determined resolutely to emphasize the cooperative nature of its activities. The entire board attended the meeting of the American Prison Association held in Atlanta in November, 1935. There we assured the representatives of the several state penal systems present that we would make no studies and conduct no surveys except upon the formal invitation of individual states. And we promised them that we would not go into any state to lay down the law to that state and tell it how to run its prisons. We emphasized, too, the obvious fact that the prison problem in each state is a local problem, not to be solved by any cut-and-dried program built for the country at large. But most of all, we assured the states that we do not believe their problems can be solved by ballyhoo, or by wholesale thoughtless condemnation of surface evils. We promised them that we would work with them, not for them, and that we would try to help them lay out sound programs and put them into effect. Thus far, we have kept our promises.

We have received formal invitations from governors or their representatives in thirteen states to make surveys in those states. We have begun to work in about eight

of these. Our field work is substantially completed in Kentucky, West Virginia, Maryland, Oklahoma, and Arkansas. In the three states first named, our reports are practically complete; but they will not go to the President nor will they be given to the public until they have been considered fully by the governors and penal authorities of the states in question. When they are made public they will represent the considered opinion and the ripe judgment, not of our board alone, but of the men and women whose official duties have made them most familiar with the difficult problems that must be met. We hope, too, that by that time the reports will have served as the basis of negotiations between the states and the Federal Government looking toward the actual carrying out of the programs we shall recommend.

I hold in my hands a copy of the draft of our Maryland report. For the reasons stated, I am not at liberty to talk to you today about its findings and recommendations in detail. But I can say that in its 101 pages will be found a careful appraisal of the existing penal and correctional system of that state. The institutions have been examined by competent architects and engineers. Their inmate population has been studied, and to the degree that the available records in the state institutions permitted, some attempt has been made to evaluate them as individual persons. The present modes of classifying prisoners have been considered, their present employment and their other assignments have been studied statistically.

In this same report you will find a careful study of available means of prison employment and available markets for the products of such employment. But we have not construed our mandate narrowly. We believe and we assert with confidence that the problem of prison labor cannot be solved as a thing apart. There is no possible

way of employing prisoners satisfactorily under present conditions except by the careful reorganization of state prison systems. We have included a detailed examination of educational facilities in prison, and of the many possible constructive activities other than purely industrial occupation. We have also considered the extent to which probation and parole are used and the manner in which these essential services are administered, for these have an obvious bearing upon the prison employment problem.

This report is now in the hands of the Governor of Maryland. Similar reports, each based upon a thorough study of similar data, are complete or are nearing completion for the states of Kentucky, West Virginia, Vermont, and a number of other states. Each of these reports will outline a workable program for the state in question. We have made our suggestions very definite. If, for example, a new institution is needed, we have tried to determine its requisite size as well as its type; and we have obtained estimates of its cost from architects and engineers experienced in the erection of such institutions.

In brief, then, the Prison Industries Reorganization Administration represents the first and only deliberate effort of the Federal Government to create an agency to help the states solve one of their most difficult and pressing problems. The solution cannot be reached overnight, and it will cost money. We shall need the cooperation of all agencies interested in the enlightened handling of our penal and correctional institutions. I am happy to be able to say that the staff work on probation and parole for our board is performed by the field director of the National Probation Association, who is with us on part time. My hope is that the states and the Federal Government will continue to cooperate, and will make practical use of our surveys and reports. They represent, in some of the states where we are working,

the first effort that anybody has made to think through the problem of the state's relationship to crime and the criminal. In other states we are merely coordinating and supplementing plans and work that have developed over a long term of years. Everywhere we have recognized that the problem is complex, and yet that it is a single problem that must be dealt with as a whole. The assistance of all persons and agencies concerned with one or another aspect of this problem is needed to create in every state and every community the public opinion necessary for the support of this constructive effort. Many and varied obstacles will have to be overcome. I am sure the members of this group will join with us in the long, strong pull that lies ahead.

## The Social Approach to Delinquency and Crime

AUSTIN H. MACCORMICK

*Commissioner of Correction, New York City*

IT is only fair to warn you that this paper will sound very cynical. It is not that I am cynical on the subject of current progress in the prevention and treatment of crime and delinquency. We go forward slowly enough, to be sure, but there is always progress, and this decade is by no means the least important in the history of crime control and crime prevention. But one must be realistic. There are grave difficulties in the way of anyone who is not content to make the simple approach to the problem indicated by the old Mosaic law and its only slightly less hoary descendant, the substantive and procedural law of America today, and who believes that only the social approach will prove effective.

The first practical difficulty is that society as a whole does not make a social approach to the problem of delinquency and crime, and does not have a socialized viewpoint with regard to it. What we call society is not socially minded on the subject; it is savage. It views crime in the abstract with reasonable serenity and emotional balance and with as much intelligence as it brings to bear on any question. But concrete crime, and especially the criminal in actuality, twentieth century society views with the alarm, hysteria, irrationality, and helplessness with which the cave man first viewed a saber-toothed tiger climbing into his home.

Any eloquent speaker or writer can move society to sympathy by drawing the picture of a poor boy, the prod-

uct of a slum home, who has drifted along the path of juvenile delinquency until he has finally committed a petty stick-up with a gun bought from a dishonest pawnbroker. But that same society may have made the penalty for his act a mandatory sentence of twenty or thirty years in a prison that will almost certainly ruin him completely. If a system of parole has been established to try to salvage him from the human scrap heap, society will applaud it in principle and will attack it viciously in practice with little judgment as to whether that practice be good or bad. Society generally does not know whether things are good or bad. Society can be counted on for sustained *feeling* on the subject of crime and delinquency; it cannot be counted on for sustained *thinking*.

What is this society that I am accusing of being non-social in its attitude toward one of its most vexing problems? Who are its members? You and I assuredly, to start with. But society is more than you and I. Society is Mr. Salvatore, Mr. Smith, Mr. Kolonski, Mr. Hoffman, Mr. Cohen, Mrs. Stuyvesant, Mr. Flaherty, the butcher, the baker, the candle-stick maker, the Colonel's lady and Judy O'Grady, the four Marx brothers, and the Dionne quintuplets. Society, in short, is all of us. And all-of-us is what we are talking about when we speak of the social approach, social treatment, the protection of society.

Who can claim that society today is a society at all, that is, a closely-knit entity whose members are fully cognizant of and sympathetic with each other's interests, and who view the good of the whole as being composed of the balanced, assembled, and integrated goods of the parts? Taking any one country as a unit, society is a group of human beings living in economic interdependence which they cannot escape, but which they constantly weaken and vitiate, so far as they can, because of eco-

nomie selfishness, jealousy, and snobbery. Capital and labor, for example, work together because otherwise goods would not be produced, dividends and pay envelopes would not be forthcoming. But capital and labor live in different parts of town, live different lives, vote for different laws, talk different languages, think different thoughts.

Social interdependence similarly exists only in part. Only the most unquenchable optimist could claim that social solidarity, a community of interest, a desire for the good of the whole even at the expense of one's own selfish interest, exists in America today. The nearest thing we have to solidarity is to be found in some relatively small, homogeneous group which is often drawn together by an interest that is destructive of, or exclusive of, the interest of society as a whole.

The lack of a social viewpoint in society itself is therefore the first practical difficulty in bringing about a social approach to any social problem, and particularly such an emotionally disturbing problem as that of crime and delinquency. Where the fundamental social philosophy and social understanding exist in theory rather than in fact, where they are inoperative or ineffective because of the impact of a more powerful philosophy of selfishness and the potent forces of ignorance and half-knowledge, we cannot expect vigorous, sustained, dynamic social action to result.

### *Ineffective Public Agencies*

The second difficulty springs inevitably from the first. Society has established various official agencies to deal directly or indirectly with the problem of crime and delinquency. Leaving prevention out of the discussion for the time being, and considering only control and treatment, we must face the fact that four of the chief agencies

of society are not organized to make a social approach to the problem and are staffed with personnel which, for the most part, does not have a socialized viewpoint. I refer to the police, the prosecutors, the judiciary, and the prisons. With few exceptions, furthermore, these agencies are grossly ineffective in the control and treatment of crime even on the low level set by the present concept of their functions, a concept requiring little more than that the police catch the offender, the prosecutor convict him, the judge sentence him, and the prison hold and punish him. If the concept of their functions is ever socialized, we must expect decades, even generations, to pass before these agencies become effective on the new and higher level.

I do not propose to elaborate here the statement that the police, prosecutors, judiciary and prisons are grossly ineffective even on their present level and that their approach is not socialized. Exceptions to the latter statement can be made, of course. We have a few police activities, such as crime prevention, that make the social approach. Occasionally a socially-minded prosecutor gets into office by accident or during a reform wave. Some courts, such as children's and family courts, are socialized in purpose if not always in procedure. Other courts have judges whose approach is social. Some prisons have programs set up from a socialized viewpoint and struggle against the greatest difficulties to make them work.

But, taking them by and large, these agencies of the law do not make a social approach to the problem of crime. In support of the statement that they are also grossly ineffective, I refer you to Dr. Sheldon Glueck's latest book, *Crime and Justice*, and to the sources on which he has so carefully drawn to substantiate his penetrating indictment of much of the machinery of criminal justice. If you then admit the validity of the indictment,

you must realize that one of the chief practical difficulties in a social approach to the problem of crime and delinquency is that society has turned over so large a part of the task of crime control to agencies that are not doing a very good job and that resent intruders with a socialized viewpoint in their territory.

### *Probation and Parole*

Two other agencies of major importance, probation and parole, in those areas where they are deserving of the name, have a socialized viewpoint, are staffed with socially-minded personnel, and employ social techniques. Even in those few jurisdictions where they have been developed to a relatively high point, however, they are almost always underfinanced and consequently understaffed, and are subjected to intemperate attacks by legislators, public officials, newspapers, and private citizens

The attackers often do not know the difference between probation and parole, and usually know little about either. One of the most liberal and powerful newspapers in New York City attacks parole day in and day out, without rhyme, reason, discrimination or temperance. Another powerful newspaper chain revealed after the arrest of John Fiorenza for the Titterton murder that editorially it did not know the difference between probation and parole, although it felt free to damn both indiscriminately. So terrible a crime may well confuse the thinking of the average citizen, but the conclusion one was led to by these editorial writers, whose thoughts influence millions of people and who have an obligation to think clearly, was that a young offender who had never done anything worse than stealing a second-hand car should be kept in prison for life, even though a careful psychiatric examination had given no indication that he

might some day commit so serious a crime as a brutal sex assault and murder.

By contrast, a mature man convicted of molesting very young girls in a movie theatre was recently given a three months sentence in New York City and will go free, without any supervision whatever, at the end of that time. On that case there was no editorial comment, although even an uninformed layman ought to guess at the damage that man may do before he dies.

The greatest obstacles in the way of probation and parole, which are among the few agencies making a social approach to the problem of crime and delinquency, are public ignorance, public apathy, public savagery,—the lack, in short, of an intelligent social consciousness on the part of society as a whole.

This attitude weighs similarly against those private and public social agencies which are concerned, either directly or indirectly, with the prevention and treatment of crime and delinquency. In the larger centers they are numerous, but not numerous enough, because of the lack of adequate private and public support. I once saw a skin-grafting operation in which little islands of healthy skin were planted all over the back of a man who had been terribly burned. Gradually the islands grew until they met each other and the whole surface was healed. But the islands were placed very close together in the first instance. In the average city today the social agencies, islands of social health, are too far apart. H. G. Wells' *Things to Come* deals with the destruction of an old civilization and the development of a new and highly mechanized order. One may hope instead that *things to come* include communities where health centers, hospitals, guidance clinics, clubs, community houses, gymnasiums, parks, playgrounds, educational facilities, libraries, museums, music centers, and all other things that promote

well-being and happiness and therefore combat crime and delinquency, are within the easy reach of every person, young or old. Our existing social agencies have the vision to bring such a dream to reality. What they lack primarily is funds. It is a tragedy that they must rely to so great an extent on private support, but this will undoubtedly be so for many years to come. Public support is usually granted to social agencies slowly, reluctantly, with distrust, and often under pressure of the sort that these agencies are not in a position to apply effectively.

#### *Public Opinion and Social Work*

Perhaps they could not apply pressure on legislators and public administrative officials without sacrificing their own integrity, since it must so often be political pressure. One cannot play politics without selling his soul to one Devil or another, and politics is a Hell's Kitchen out of which the social agencies should stay. But one is tempted to fight the Devil with fire. The ignorance of social work and the contempt for it which so many legislators feel should not go unchallenged. During the investigation of the Emergency Relief Bureau in New York City by the Board of Aldermen, references were made to the alleged domination of relief work by social workers in terms that one would use if Hitler had captured City Hall. Most of these gentlemen apparently did not know what a social worker is, what case work is, nor did they know that one would put relief work in the hands of social workers as logically as one would summon engineers to plan and build a subway.

This characteristic attitude of contempt for social agencies and social workers on the part of those who pass the laws and hold the purse-strings cannot be ignored. I do not believe that social agencies will ever

get far with them until they are convinced that these agencies represent public opinion—in other words, votes. One way of accomplishing this is by publicity, which affects public opinion, in other words, affects votes. It is not enough for a few well-known men and women to appear at public hearings and make thoroughly sound statements on social measures. Politicians think of something else while such speeches are being made. They supply welcome rest periods for tired political minds.

But imagine what might have happened, for example, when the social security measures were within a few votes of passing in the New York State Assembly, if social agencies throughout the state had started an "On to Albany" movement, if special trains had brought thousands of earnest people into the city, so that the lobbies and galleries of the Capitol were packed tight, every hotel in town crowded to the eaves, every spot on which the legislator's eyes fell occupied by voters who meant business! Imagine that someone induced socially-minded men of means to pay the railroad fares to Albany of a few hundred of the helpless people whom the measures are to benefit, and that every legislator entering the Capitol had to run the gauntlet of the blind, the sick, and the aged against whom he had been casting his vote. When the newspaper cameramen had used up all their films and the reporters all their adjectives, do you think the necessary votes could ever have been lined up against the measures? Even a die-hard knows when it is time to die gracefully.

### *Coordination of Agencies*

One reason why social agencies do not combine more often to produce effective pressure is that they are not effectively coordinated. This is also a chief reason why the social approach to the problem of crime and delin-

quency and to other problems is not more effective. There are enough social agencies in America to make over the nation, but they function largely within their own respective spheres. Within each sphere, moreover, there operate various agencies which are similar in aim and function but are almost as uncoordinated as though they were dealing with widely differing problems. Take work with boys and girls, for example. In New York City, to mention only a few agencies, we have the Boy Scouts and the Girl Scouts, the Camp Fire Girls, the Y.M.C.A., the Y.W.C.A., the Y.M.H.A., The Jewish Board of Guardians, the Catholic Youth Association, the Big Brother and Big Sister Associations with branches in the various faiths, hundreds of clubs and neighborhood houses for boys and girls, numerous organizations under the auspices of individual churches, agencies under the Board of Education, and so on. So far as I know, there is no effective coordinating agency in this field nor in dozens of other fields, although the various agencies are friendly and cooperative.

Perhaps they should not be coordinated. I am not wise enough or experienced enough in social work to say whether they should be or not, but common sense tells me that they should. One sees certain parts of the city with more agencies than are needed, others with too few. Some sections have agencies or institutions badly suited to the needs of the area: they are too good or too bad. I have seen, in a very poor part of the city, a neighborhood house so elaborate and so beautiful that the average slum boy would never enter it. On the other hand, I have seen one so drab, so ill-equipped and poorly staffed that it offered the boy on the streets little more than four walls and a roof.

Where is the great master chart of New York City, or any other city—the chart that shows what the social

problems of each area are and what agencies are needed to cope with them? Who are watching the chart, like staff officers before a battle plan, sending in reinforcements here, reducing the forces there, attacking in force at this point, entrenching for a long siege at that point?

Only cooperative effort on a coordinated plan, I believe, will ever result in a successful attack on any great social problem, and especially on crime and delinquency through prevention rather than through control by suppression. It must be admitted, however, that the attempt to coordinate would tend, at first, to weaken our attack. Some of our best social agencies have been established and carried on through private initiative. Some generous men and women are interested principally in one specific type of agency or one locality. They do not warm up to the idea of giving funds to boys' work in general, for example, but develop a strong personal interest in a certain organization or locality. As in practically all lines of endeavor, individual initiative promotes progress. But a large-scale, coordinated plan need not kill individual interest or initiative. The plan should show the need and the remedy; the deserts on the master chart can still be watered by private funds, as at present. To carry this comparison a little further, what we need is a comprehensive irrigation system in place of reliance on rains which drench one area while there is drought in another. One must admit, however, that it is easier to theorize about such a system than to bring it to actuality. One cannot escape the practical difficulty of finding social engineers capable of making a comprehensive plan and adjusting it constantly to changing needs, the difficulty of securing widespread agreement from the areas and the agencies concerned, the difficulty of financing the plan, the difficulty of filling in the gaps in under-serviced areas

and removing or revising agencies ill-adapted to the areas they serve.

But these difficulties are not insuperable, especially if one takes a long-range view and is ready to think in terms of years for the establishment of a comprehensive plan of social action in any given community. In the meantime, much more could be accomplished than at present if there were, in every community large enough to justify it, a central agency or committee with authority to consolidate and coordinate the efforts of agencies working either directly or indirectly in the field of crime prevention. This would include practically every social agency in the community, since every effort to improve social conditions has some effect on the prevention of crime and delinquency. Some of our cities have coordinating organizations, but most cities and practically all smaller communities do not, with the exception of organizations for joint money-raising and for discussion of general policies.

Above and beyond local organizations there might well be state crime prevention bureaus like that proposed for New York in Governor Lehman's anti-crime program. This bureau was to have a director, a small field staff, and an unpaid advisory council selected on a state-wide basis. Its function was not to administer, but to stimulate, guide and coordinate local activities in the field of crime prevention. It is indicative of the practical difficulty in making a social approach that the bill establishing this bureau was killed in committee for no better reason apparently than that the legislators were looking for measures in the Governor's anti-crime program which they could safely kill and thought the crime prevention bureau bill was "just another of those frills." The same legislators voted for a substantial increase in the personnel of the state police. The business of catching

offenders is something anyone can understand; it is a clear-cut, definite proposition. Preventing offenders, by contrast, is a vague, indefinite business; it is difficult to see how it is done, or to measure the effect of one's efforts. Getting people who are not close to the problem, or are indifferent to it, to understand the necessity for well-organized, well-financed social action to prevent crime will always be one of the chief difficulties that we face.

### *Complexities of the Crime Problem*

There are, however, practical difficulties in the social approach to the prevention and treatment of crime and delinquency which have nothing to do with the attitude of the public or of legislators, with the inadequacy of existing agencies or with the lack of plan and coordination. They are difficulties inherent in the problem itself. The process of dealing with crime or with the criminal involves three steps: diagnosis, prescription, and treatment. We have long since developed techniques which enable us to diagnose and prescribe with reasonable accuracy, but treatment is complicated and costly. If we are honest, moreover, we must check and re-check constantly on our diagnostic methods. Since we are dealing with human behavior in a complex social and economic setting, symptoms are not so conclusive as in the case of a medical patient in a quiet hospital room, whose charts and laboratory tests convey relatively clear-cut evidence.

It is not safe to become too sure of one's ground. Most of us, for example, felt sure that the depression would cause a marked increase in crime. As a matter of fact, major crimes have decreased appreciably during the depression, and nobody knows why. Similarly, we have for four years accepted the idea that nineteen year old persons lead in the commission of crimes, because the statistics of the United States Department of Justice

have so reported since 1931. Now the department, frankly puzzled, reports that for the first quarter of 1936 the twenty-two year old group leads all the rest, and the nineteen year group is in fourth place. In the business of diagnosing criminal behavior, basic facts do not always remain basic and sometimes they are not facts. In medicine we have the solid fact that yellow fever is conveyed by mosquitoes. In the field of crime we have no such solid fact as that the crime germ is bred in the slums, or in mental disease, or in anything else of which we can be absolutely certain.

Think of the practical difficulties in the way of accurate diagnosis and prescription, not to mention treatment, in an individual case. A New York paper recently carried these headlines: "At 15, Boy Saw Father Murder; at 19, He's Thug—Parent's Curse Is On Him." The news story tells of a jewel robbery by a nineteen year old Italian boy whose father was electrocuted a year ago at Sing Sing for the fatal stabbing of his eighteen year old daughter, who had married her sweetheart against her parent's wishes and had refused to obey her father's demands that she leave her husband. The murder was committed in front of the boy, then fifteen, and his mother. Both testified against the father. Before his electrocution, the father left the son his gold watch as a constant reminder that the son's testimony had helped send him to the chair.

Can one diagnose this case as one of pure criminal heredity—father a murderer, boy a thug? How much did the boy inherit from a man capable of stabbing his daughter to death? How much was he influenced by the atmosphere of the home, by the attempt of the father to control his children's lives, by the family conflicts that led to the murder? How much by the effect of witnessing the crime while still a boy? How much by being

branded as the son of a murderer? How much by superstitious brooding over the curse his father put on him? How much by the struggles to survive which probably followed his father's execution?

If diagnosis and prescription are so difficult, as they clearly are, what then of treatment? When one is reasonably sure what to do, either in the case of a potential delinquent or a convicted criminal, the process of treatment on a social basis is beset by innumerable difficulties. This the layman does not know: he thinks, for example, that family relief consists of taking a basket of food to a hungry family and receiving their respectful courtesies and humble thanks.

I have in mind a case, admittedly rather an extreme one, which well illustrates the practical difficulties in adequate social treatment of delinquency. A confirmed alcoholic was committed to one of the New York City institutions by a magistrate who expressed the pious hope that we should rehabilitate him. The man's criminal and delinquent record extended over thirty years; his alcoholism over twenty years. Knowing that we had only the shell of a man to work on, we decided to go to work on his family. Here is what we found: a dirty three-room flat in a "cold-water tenement"; the wife a deaf mute and a confirmed alcoholic, drunk at the time of the visit, with her parents and a neighbor also present and also drunk; seven children of varying ages but uniformly malnourished, dirty, neglected. I do not need to suggest to you how many social agencies had to be brought into the picture before even a partial solution of the problem presented by that family could be worked out, or how many private and public agencies will deal with those seven children before they have run out the life course almost inevitably laid down for them by the combined forces of their heredity and their early environment.

The public little realizes what adequate treatment in even the more simple cases of potential delinquency involves: how many visits to the home, to the school, to the police, to the employer of the father and the older children; how many contacts with other social agencies, how many case histories perused, how many more pages compiled, how many weary subway and elevated trips taken, how many endless blocks tramped on foot, how many doors slammed in one's face, how many disappointments, how many failures, how many tragedies.

But the social worker carries on, and *must* carry on. The problem of crime and delinquency, whether viewed from the standpoint of prevention or of treatment, is a social problem and no other than a social approach will ever solve it. In spite of all the difficulties I have cited here and the many others of which you are aware, the job is one for social workers, taking that term in its broadest sense. I should be proud to be listed in the ranks of the social worker. I say advisedly that I believe the fight against crime will be won eventually by those who have social consciousness, those who are socially minded, those who make the social approach to the problem. As I have often said in the past, crime will not be controlled eventually by our armed forces, but by our social forces.

## VIII THE NATIONAL PROBATION ASSOCIATION

---

### Review of the Year 1935-1936

CHARLES L. CHUTE

*Executive Director, National Probation Association*

THIS report summarizes the principal activities and accomplishments of the National Probation Association for the fiscal year ended March 31, 1936, the twenty-ninth year of the existence of the Association and the fifteenth year since its incorporation as an active national agency with a paid staff.

During the year the professional staff of the Association consisted of eight workers as follows: the executive director, the assistant director, two field workers, two financial and membership assistants, the publicity director and the librarian. Thirteen regular clerical workers were employed. The work of the staff has been supervised by an active Board of Trustees and greatly assisted by the Professional Council made up of leaders in probation service, by special committees and by members all over the country.

#### *Field Service*

Since its incorporation the Association has carried on field service in many parts of the country, consisting of surveys of court facilities and needs; campaigns for legislation and extension of probation educational work, in-

cluding organizing and participating in conferences, conducting institutes for probation workers; and general public information service. Field work is undertaken where the greatest need exists and when invitations are received from courts and cooperating agencies. In some cases the costs of surveys and other field work are born in part by the localities served. The principal field projects completed during the year are as follows:

**CALIFORNIA** *Santa Barbara* At the request of the judge and the probation committee, Francis H. Hiller, our field director, was called in to study a difficult situation concerning a conflict between the probation department and the detention home management which involved an appraisal of the respective services. He spent two and one-half weeks gathering information and conferring with every one concerned. A report was submitted to the authorities.

*San Diego* At the request of the chief probation officer Mr. Hiller spent three days in San Diego, making a brief survey of the juvenile court and detention home. He consulted with the judge, the probation officers and the probation committee. His study dealt especially with dependency cases in the juvenile court, the formation of a juvenile police department and the care of children at the detention home.

**COLORADO** *Denver* Mr. Hiller visited the juvenile court and probation department and conferred with the Colorado Prison Association regarding plans for the development of adult probation.

**DELAWARE** *Wilmington* At the request of the board of managers of the detention home Marjorie Bell, assistant director, made a follow-up visit in February, conferring with members of the board, the juvenile court

judge, probation officers and others. A progress report was submitted with a number of recommendations.

**DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA** The executive director and the field director gave active assistance to a citizens' committee in drafting and promoting a new juvenile court law for the District. The bill followed in all essentials the standard juvenile court act of the Association. Many conferences were held with local people, and newspaper statements were prepared. The executive director represented the Association at an extended hearing before the Congressional committee. The bill was advanced and will come before the next Congress.

**KENTUCKY** Following up our previous campaigns, the executive director prepared a new state-wide adult probation and parole bill and went to Frankfort to appear before the welfare committee of the Governor's Reorganization Commission, with the cooperation of members of our committee in Louisville. Much favorable publicity resulted. The bill was approved, passed the legislature with minor changes, was signed by Governor Chandler and became effective May 15. It provides for the appointment of a director of probation and parole in the State Department of Public Welfare, who will in turn appoint probation officers for each judicial circuit, thirty-seven in all, after competitive examination. The salary of the state director was limited to \$3,000 a year and of the officers to \$1,800. All will be state paid. At the request of the commissioner of public welfare, the executive director made two visits to Kentucky, conferring with the newly appointed state director of probation and parole and with others interested in the set-up and development of this service. A competitive examination is promised.

**NEW JERSEY** *Jersey City* Mrs. Bell made a brief

study of the work of the Bureau of Special Service, established by the board of education and the police department to treat all unadjusted and delinquent children. She visited the bureau twice in January and prepared a confidential report.

NEW YORK *New York City* Frequent visits have been made by members of the staff to the Domestic Relations Court and to the Adolescents' and other Magistrates' Courts. We cooperated in the appointment of a well qualified man as the new chief probation officer of the Domestic Relations Court.

NORTH CAROLINA In April Mr. Hiller visited Durham, Greensboro and Raleigh to confer with a number of people interested in a proposed state-wide survey of the juvenile courts and probation work. In November preceding this visit the executive director had visited Greensboro, Durham and Chapel Hill, spending three days conferring with a number of people and groups regarding this proposed survey. Definite action was postponed.

TENNESSEE *Chattanooga* A special juvenile and domestic relations court was established in Chattanooga in April, 1935. Upon the invitation of a committee of citizens, Mr. Hiller made a five weeks' survey of the new court. He assisted in organizing the probation department, installing a complete record system, developing local interest and cooperation. The expenses for this field service were paid by the Rotary Club, the Junior League, and the probation department of Chattanooga. A report of the study with recommendations for improved service was mimeographed and copies were sent to the committee for distribution.

TEXAS Assistance was given in drafting a state-wide

adult probation bill, following the passage of a constitutional amendment in August 1935 authorizing the enactment of such a law. We have conferred with proponents of the measure at Houston, Fort Worth, Dallas, and at Atlanta, in connection with our regional probation conference there. It is hoped that the matter can be brought to an issue at the regular session of the legislature in 1937. Texas as yet has no adult probation service.

UTAH *Salt Lake City* At the request of the Juvenile Court and Probation Commission of Utah, Mr. Hiller spent a week in Salt Lake City in November. He studied the coordinating council development in Utah and looked over the work of the juvenile court and probation department in Salt Lake City. During that week Mr. Hiller conferred with the state commission which consists of the governor, the attorney general and the state superintendent of schools. Upon their request he prepared a written statement with recommendations for the development of probation in juvenile and adult courts.

VIRGINIA *Richmond* Mr. Hiller spent several days conferring with the subcommittee of the Governor's Legislative Advisory Council. Bills for establishing a state probation division in Virginia were presented at the last legislature and were unanimously approved by three different committees but were lost in the final rush. They will probably be presented again, with some improvements, at the next session.

OTHER FIELD VISITS In addition to the above, numerous cities were visited by the executive director and other members of the staff, to confer with committees, judges and others, to follow up previous surveys, arrange for membership appeals, and to promote interest in the work.

*The P. I. R. A. Surveys*

At the request of Judge Joseph N. Ulman, chairman of the Prison Industries Reorganization Administration at Washington, and Dr. Louis N. Robinson, a member of the board, the executive director arranged to lend Mr. Hiller to make state-wide surveys of probation and parole. Mr. Hiller has been almost continuously employed on this work since December 16. The government reimbursed the Association for his traveling expenses and one-half of his salary. These studies and recommendations are made at the invitation of the governor and the prison authorities in each state. Federal assistance will be offered the states in developing more satisfactory programs and we anticipate results in new and improved systems of probation and parole. To date Mr. Hiller has completed state-wide studies of probation and parole in Arkansas, Delaware, Maryland, Oklahoma, Vermont and West Virginia. He has given much time in Washington to preparing these reports and assisting on proposed drafts of legislation. A complete study is made of the laws in each state, and statistics on the use of probation and parole have been obtained from courts and state agencies. Mr. Hiller has conferred with the governors, prison administrators, judges, probation and parole officers. He has visited courts and institutions and consulted other sources of information. Plans for other state studies, including Texas, are now in process.

*The Coordinating Council Project*

Interest has grown in the movement to develop neighborhood and community councils for the prevention of delinquency. The successful experiments with coordinating councils in Los Angeles and other California cities have attracted the attention of many of our members.

The subject was fully discussed at our annual conference in Montreal and the Association was requested to make a study of the movement. Our executive committee voted to establish a consultant service cooperating with federal, state, and local agencies in the development of measures for the prevention of delinquency, and authorized the employment of Kenneth S. Beam, director of the coordinating councils of Los Angeles, for a national study of the various types of councils.

Previous to Mr. Beam's employment Mr. Hiller was sent to California to make a brief evaluating study of the movement and to gather as much information as possible. Mr. Hiller spent five weeks in California observing the work in Los Angeles, Berkeley, Oakland and San Francisco. He attended regular meetings of the councils, conferred with many organizations and individuals, visited the probation departments. A report of his study was prepared and mimeographed. It has had wide circulation among people interested in the development of the movement.

Following Mr. Hiller's preliminary study arrangements were made to employ Mr. Beam for a special field study of the council movement in all parts of the country. He became a member of our staff on December first, on a year's leave of absence from his duties in Los Angeles. He began his work on the Pacific Coast, gathering data in Los Angeles and studying the council developments in San Jose, San Francisco, Oakland, Berkeley, Sacramento, Portland, Tacoma, Steilacoom, Seattle, Bellingham, Spokane, Minneapolis and Chicago, arriving at our headquarters early in February. Later he visited the following cities, studying the various council organizations, meeting with local leaders and committees and usually delivering addresses before large public meetings: Co-

lumbus (two visits), Dayton, Cincinnati, Marietta, North Jackson, Springfield, Toledo, and Youngstown, Ohio; Indianapolis, Indiana; Ann Arbor and Detroit, Michigan; Rochester and Syracuse, New York; New Haven, Connecticut; Philadelphia, Harrisburg, Lancaster, and Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania; Baltimore, Maryland; Wheeling, West Virginia; Hackensack, New Jersey; Chicago, Washington (two visits) and New York City. A field report was made on each city visited.

Mr. Beam presented a complete report of his findings at our annual conference in Atlantic City in sessions especially arranged for representatives of councils and others interested in their development. A leaflet of invitation to this conference containing a complete bibliography prepared in our office, was sent to all our members and to many other persons interested. Mr. Beam's report was mimeographed and has been widely circulated. He is continuing his field studies, giving assistance to many communities in developing this preventive work.

### *Conferences, Institutes and Addresses*

**ASSOCIATION CONFERENCES** The twenty-ninth annual conference of the Association was held in Montreal, Canada, in June, preceding the meetings of the National Conference of Social Work. Preparation for the conference began with enlisting an active local committee. Judge J. A. Robillard of the juvenile court, chairman, and other members of the Montreal committee did much to make our conference in Canada a very successful one. Twenty-two states, the District of Columbia, Canada and Puerto Rico were represented in the registration of 167 delegates. Thirteen sessions were held, including several joint sessions with the National Conference of Social Work.

In October the Association conducted a southern regional probation conference of three sessions in conjunction with the American Prison Congress in Atlanta, Georgia. Governor Paul V. McNutt of Indiana made the opening speech on *The State and Probation*. A leading judge from Houston, Texas, and the state welfare directors of two southern states discussed state problems in the south. All meetings were well attended and did a good deal to promote our work and contacts in the south.

**INSTITUTES** In connection with his survey in Chattanooga, Mr. Hiller conducted an institute on work with delinquent and dependent children under the auspices of the Social Workers' Club. A series of discussion conferences were held. The total registration for the institute was 75.

The executive director conducted an all day institute for the probation officers of Arkansas at the Capitol in Little Rock. The institute was held in connection with the State Conference of Social Work and was arranged by the State Juvenile Court Department and the Arkansas Probation Officers' Association.

**OTHER CONFERENCES** The committee on juvenile delinquency of the New Orleans Rotary Club conducted a three-day conference in October. Mrs. Bell was sent to address one of the sessions, other speakers being Judge Charles W. Hoffman of our board of trustees and Sanford Bates of our advisory committee. Mrs. Bell also addressed one of the service clubs and conferred with the local committee on recommendations and legislation.

At the annual institute sponsored by the Community Chests and Councils, Inc. at Blue Ridge, North Carolina, Mr. Hiller represented the Association. He was appointed chairman of one of the committees and helped prepare the report of that section.

The executive director was a speaker at the Central States Parole Conference at Louisville. The name of the conference has been changed to the Central States Probation and Parole Conference.

The executive director was selected by the Secretary of State as one of twenty-three United States delegates to the International Penal and Penitentiary Congress in August. He attended as the representative of the Association. Valuable information was secured and numerous contacts made with leaders in our field abroad. A report of this trip was published in the October issue of *Probation*.

Several members of our board participated in the New York State Crime Conference called by Governor Lehman in October. The executive director spoke on probation standards at the probation and parole round table.

Under the auspices of the New Jersey Commission on Inter-State Cooperation, a conference was held at Trenton in October. Official representatives of forty states were present. Justin Miller and the executive director were on the program. The use of inter-state compacts for the return of probationers and parolees and for transfer of supervision was a topic of special interest. We have had many requests for information on this subject and have furnished model laws.

We again enrolled as a sponsoring agency for the Regional Conference on Social Hygiene, which conducted an all-day meeting in New York in January. We arranged one session to discuss youth and delinquency.

Crime and youth today were discussed at the annual round table conference of the New York *Herald Tribune* in New York. The Association was invited to participate and Judge George W. Smyth spoke on probation and the children's court.

Other conferences participated in by the staff were: the White House Conference on Social Education; the Mobilization Conference organized by Community Chests and Councils, Inc., in which the National Probation Association is a cooperating agency; the annual meeting of the American Association of Social Workers called to consider relief problems. All these conferences were held at Washington.

Mr. Hiller addressed a meeting of the Utah State Conference of Social Work at Salt Lake City and conducted a round table discussion. He attended and participated in a discussion meeting at the Colorado State Conference of Social Work at Denver. At the Alabama State Conference of Social Work at Birmingham he spoke at two of the sessions on needs and essentials in state-wide probation service.

The executive director attended as a speaker at the Texas State Conference of Social Work at Fort Worth. He participated in the meetings of the Texas Probation Association, conferring with many probation officers and juvenile court judges. He also addressed a general session of the Arkansas State Conference of Social Work at Little Rock.

**ADDRESSES** During the year members of the staff delivered 69 addresses throughout the country as follows:

Mr. Chute .....	10
Mrs. Bell .....	10
Mr. Hiller .....	11
Mr. Beam .....	38

Mr. Beam's speeches were delivered in connection with his nation-wide study of coordinating councils.

Two radio broadcasts each were given by the executive director and the assistant director.

### *Publications*

The following publications were issued during the year:

*Yearbook* for 1935, containing the proceedings of the Montreal conference.

*Probation*, our bimonthly magazine (all issues increased to 16 pages).

*Probation in Practice*, the proceedings of the regional conference of probation executives held in New York City in March 1935.

#### *Reprints from the 1935 Yearbook*

The Place of the Juvenile Court in the Social Welfare Field—Clinton W. Areson

The Coordinating Council Movement—Kenneth S. Beam

The Delinquent as a Case Problem—Frank W. Hagerty

The Essentials of Case Work with Delinquents—Louise McGuire

Social Agency Coordination for Crime Prevention—Harry M. Shulman

A leaflet, *Delinquency Prevention Through Coordination*, announcing the Association's survey of coordinating councils and including a complete bibliography on community organization for the prevention of delinquency.

A revised selected reading list.

Reprints of appeal leaflets.

We have been building up our library and have 275 books, 485 public documents and about 700 pamphlets on file.

Exhibits of literature, charts and posters have been supplied by the Association for national and state conferences and other special occasions.

*Employment Bureau*

Assistance has been given to candidates for probation positions especially for important civil service examinations. We cooperated with a group in New Hampshire in setting up a county probation demonstration, employing an experienced man.

*General Work*

The Association has answered hundreds of inquiries for information. Literature is sent out daily and advice and assistance given on all matters pertaining to juvenile courts, probation and coordinating councils. The general correspondence of the Association has nearly doubled since the beginning of January due to the coordinating council work. We have helped with examination questions, correction of papers, and giving of oral examinations in various parts of the country.

The executive director was invited to serve as a member of the advisory committee of the Attorney General's Survey of Release Procedures, a nation-wide study of probation, parole and other methods of release. Our vice president, Justin Miller, as special assistant to the Attorney General, is director of the survey. The executive director and the assistant director attended an all-day meeting in New York to discuss the project with Mr. Miller and his assistants. We subsequently conferred with the technical director and furnished publications and information. In January Mr. Hiller and the executive director assisted at an institute at the Department of Justice in Washington for training the regional directors and statistical assistants employed in the study. All of one day was given to probation work. A number of field representatives have been interviewed in the of-

fice and others have written for literature and information.

The executive director conferred in Washington with the director of Emergency Conservation Work concerning the much discussed question of admission of boys on probation to the C.C.C. camps. The man in charge of admissions agreed with our contention that boys on probation should not be barred from the camps without individual investigation, and so recommended to the director. The matter was submitted to the Attorney General who rendered an official opinion "that persons on probation or parole as a consequence of conviction of crime are not eligible for enrollment in the camps." This closes the matter unless the law can be amended. This does not of course prevent discharging boys from probation or parole in order that they may enter the camps, nor does it apply to children dealt with by juvenile courts which do not convict for crime.

At the invitation of the president of the Municipal Civil Service Commission, the executive director attended a hearing in New York City in November, speaking for educational qualifications for technical civil service positions.

### *Special Committees*

To meet a strong desire voiced at the 1935 national conference that our professional members be given a more active voice in planning the work of the Association, a Professional Council of about forty leading probation officers, state directors of probation and judges from all parts of the country has been created. This council will serve as a general advisory committee regarding the professional policies and work of the Association, assist in arranging and preparing programs for annual and regional conferences, and furnish the Asso-

ciation with information, advice and assistance on matters of state-wide and regional concern, including legislation, surveys, campaigns, and local and regional institutes and conferences. Meetings of the council will be held in connection with the annual conference and at such other times as the council itself may determine. The first meeting of the council was held in February to plan the annual conference program.

A committee on case records, consisting of five members of the Association and the assistant director was appointed by the board in October, to meet from time to time to collect information and prepare model record blanks. Since February the committee has had eight meetings. New forms and instructions for juvenile and adult case records have been devised and are being distributed.

Mrs. Bell was appointed chairman of a committee of the New York Social Work Publicity Council on annual reports. She presented a report to the council in May.

### *Publicity Service*

A publicity director, Mrs. Mary Blankenhorn, employed by the Association on a part time basis throughout the year, has given fine service. She obtained outstanding newspaper publicity for the Association during the Montreal conference.

### *Membership and Financial Support*

The total paid up membership of the Association on March 31, 1935 was 10,725, an increase of 51 over the year before. On March 31, 1936 the total membership was 13,042, an increase of 2,317 over 1935. The classified membership contributions for the year are shown in the following table:

*Membership Contributions Received*

April 1, 1935-March 31, 1936

Amount Contributed	No. of Contributors	
	<i>New</i>	<i>Renewals</i>
Up to \$1.99.....	389	1,066
\$2.00 only .....	611	2,159
\$2.01-\$5.00 .....	1,776	3,685
\$5.01-\$10.00 .....	775	1,671
\$10.01-\$25.00 .....	205	534
\$25.01-\$50.00 .....	27	89
\$50.00-\$100.00 .....	11	37
over \$100.00 .....	...	7
	<hr/> 3,794	<hr/> 9,248
Total .....		13,042

The total receipts and disbursements of the Association for the fiscal year are shown in the treasurer's report. Our members and individual contributors have continued to stand by us loyally during the difficult year. Some have even increased their contributions. The Association has been greatly aided by leading supporters in many cities who have cooperated in sponsoring financial appeals for the work. The increased number of these appeals largely explains the new members and supporters added during the year.

Interest in the work of the Association to develop individual study and effective treatment of those coming before the courts is growing constantly. As it is the only national association in this field the demands and opportunities for service are almost unlimited. In return for the confidence of our generous contributors we have endeavored to carry on the work as economically and effectively as possible. We bespeak the interest and assistance of all who read this report.

## Treasurer's Report

The following is a copy of statement submitted by our auditors on April 17, 1936:

### STATEMENT OF RECORDED CASH RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS OF THE GENERAL FUND FOR THE YEAR ENDED MARCH 31, 1936

BALANCE, APRIL 1, 1935..... \$6,209.47

#### RECEIPTS:

Dues and contributions.....	\$85,265.69	
Local contributions for field service		
expenses .....	190.00	
Sale of publications.....	1,173.05	
Interest on bonds .....	210.00	
Interest on bank balances.....	904.89	
Miscellaneous .....	5.51	
	<hr/>	
Total receipts .....		87,749.14
		<hr/>
Total .....		\$93,958.61

#### DISBURSEMENTS:

Salaries .....	\$41,695.41	
Extra service .....	3,641.57	
Travel expenses .....	6,624.37	
Printing .....	8,638.25	
Multigraphing .....	3,560.18	
Postage .....	7,847.25	
Rent .....	4,085.25	
Office supplies .....	858.24	
Telephone and telegraph.....	899.64	
Equipment .....	337.48	
Transfer of cash to permanent fund..	10,000.00	
Purchases of publications.....	319.30	
Miscellaneous ..	319.18	
	<hr/>	
Total disbursements .....		88,826.12

## BALANCE, MARCH 31, 1936:

On deposit (including \$4,018.99 in savings accounts) .....	\$4,407.49	
Petty cash fund .....	25.00	
Travel expense funds.....	650.00	
Undeposited bond interest.....	50.00	\$5,132.49

## ACCOUNTANTS' CERTIFICATE

National Probation Association, Inc.:

We have made an examination of the recorded cash receipts and disbursements of your general fund in relation to the above statement thereof for the year ended March 31, 1936, and have inspected the securities of the permanent fund owned at that date as shown by the records.

In our opinion, the above statement sets forth the recorded cash receipts and disbursements of the general fund for the year ended March 31, 1936, and the cash balance of that fund at March 31, 1936. The accompanying statement sets forth the investments and cash on deposit of the permanent fund at March 31, 1936.

(Signed) HASKINS & SELLS

New York, April 17, 1936

STATEMENT OF PERMANENT INVESTMENT  
FUND MARCH 31, 1936

	Face Amount	Cost
Securities (bonds purchased).....	\$32,000.00	\$31,883.75
Purchased interest .....		209.97
Cash on Deposit with Savings Banks...		12,663.78
Total Permanent Investment Fund.....		\$44,757.50

## TREASURER'S NOTES:

(1) During the year \$10,000 was transferred from the general fund to the permanent investment fund.

(2) There were no unpaid bills due at the end of the fiscal year, making the net surplus on hand in the general fund \$5,132.49.

(3) A total of \$1,276.16 was received by the Association as local contributions for field service. Only \$190 of this appears under "Receipts" in the auditors' statement herewith, the balance being deducted from disbursements, having been received as refunds for traveling expenses or salaries.

HENRY DEFOREST BALDWIN, *Treasurer*

## Minutes

### ANNUAL BUSINESS MEETING OF THE ASSOCIATION ATLANTIC CITY, NEW JERSEY, MAY 25, 1936

THE business meeting which is a part of the annual conference of the National Probation Association, was held on Monday afternoon, May 25, at the Chelsea Hotel, Atlantic City. The meeting was called to order by Judge Herbert G. Cochran, member of the board of trustees.

Mr. Chute reported on the work of the Association for the past year including field work; the special project of the Association on coordinating councils; cooperation with the Federal Government in lending Mr. Hiller's services to the Prison Industries Reorganization Administration; cooperation in consultation service to the United States Attorney General in his national study of release procedures; the regional conference on probation and parole held at Atlanta in October as part of the program of the American Prison Association; participation in state conference programs, institutes; publications, and general progress.

The meeting of the Professional Council, May 24, was reported by Mrs. Bell, who acted as secretary.

### *Resolutions*

The report of the resolutions committee was presented by Joseph H. Hagan, chairman. Other committee members were: Mary E. McChristie, Cincinnati; Louise McGuire, Washington, D. C.; Joel R. Moore, Washington, D. C. The following resolutions were offered:

1. WHEREAS, Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, the able director of

the Bureau of Investigation of the United States Department of Justice, has indicated in a number of recent public addresses lack of knowledge of the purposes, methods and accomplishments of probation and parole work, and of institutions and other agencies for the constructive and preventive treatment of crime, and has indulged in unfair and misleading statements which have tended to retard the development of these important agencies for crime control; therefore be it

RESOLVED: That while we register our approval of the work of Mr. Hoover and his bureau for the detection of crime and the apprehension of criminals, we deplore the false and inaccurate statements that have been made, which have tended to mislead the public into a belief that probation, parole and other agencies for the individual study and reclamation of offenders are harmful to the cause of law enforcement, and that only methods of force and severity are effective in controlling and preventing crime. Be it

RESOLVED FURTHER: That this protest be sent to the President of the United States and to the Attorney General of the United States, with a request that until more adequate information is obtained by Mr. Hoover and his bureau he be asked to refrain from issuing statements which are derogatory and destructive to the advancement of probation and parole as important and constructive agencies in the treatment and prevention of crime.

2. WHEREAS, the National Probation Association, through its wise administration, has brought probation practice to the high esteem in which it is held throughout the country today; and

WHEREAS, the tendency to criticism of parole in the public press acts to the discredit of probation because of the confusion of the terms *probation* and *parole* in the public mind; and

WHEREAS, in the United States Department of Justice a system of probation and parole coordination has become a workable fact; and

WHEREAS, there exists a tendency on the part of some state public welfare administrations to adopt a policy of combining probation and parole activities; therefore be it

RESOLVED: That the conference recommends to the Board of Trustees of the National Probation Association the advis-

ability of taking steps to study and promote adequate parole laws and efficient administration. Be it

RESOLVED FURTHER: That the Association invite parole officers throughout the country to become members of the Association.

3. WHEREAS, the results of the study of coordinating councils and similar organizations have indicated that these agencies will be of great value in reaching the causes of crime and in preventing delinquency; therefore be it

RESOLVED: That probation departments throughout the country be urged to encourage their development and cooperate with them wherever they have been established. Be it

RESOLVED FURTHER: That we commend the assistance which has been given to this movement for crime prevention in the study now being made for the National Probation Association by Mr. Kenneth S. Beam and approve the action of the Board of Trustees in voting to continue this service to local communities.

4. WHEREAS, there exists in the public mind a confusion as to the difference between the terms *probation* and *parole*; and

WHEREAS, there exists generally in the United States a policy among editorial writers to write derogatively of parole; and

WHEREAS, there is a trend toward the unification of parole and probation administration; therefore be it

RESOLVED: That this conference strongly recommends that editorial writers be made aware of the difference between the terms *parole* and *probation* wherever such confusion may exist. Be it

RESOLVED FURTHER: That all probation officers, parole officers, judges, and state officials be urged to cooperate in making this policy effective.

5. WHEREAS, recent attacks have been made upon the use of probation by our courts; and

WHEREAS, such attacks have influenced public opinion inimically in regard to probation, and have caused much con-

fusion in the public mind as to the purpose and value of probation; therefore be it

RESOLVED: That the Board of Trustees be directed to designate one week during each year to be known as National Probation Week, to be observed by the use of nation-wide radio programs, newspaper articles, and addresses before civic, welfare, fraternal, and religious groups everywhere.

6. WHEREAS, throughout the country the gradual development of probation and parole service has not been equaled by like progress in training courses for probation and parole officers in schools of social work or universities in the majority of states, a condition which has compelled the acceptance for appointment of candidates receiving the highest examination rating although they lack formal training in probation and parole work; and

WHEREAS, in most undermanned probation and parole departments "training on the job" is extremely difficult, due to excessive requirements for investigational service on the one hand, and excessive case loads on the other, and the standing of probation and parole in the public mind cannot be readily enhanced without improving the work of such departments; therefore be it

RESOLVED: That the National Probation Association be requested to consider the advisability of instituting correspondence courses for the benefit of such underprivileged probation and parole officers, under the supervision of probation and parole executives, to the end that by formal study such probation officers may acquire a broader concept of the fundamental theories of probation and parole service and of social case work generally, in conjunction with the daily performance of their duties. Be it

RESOLVED FURTHER: That when and as probation and parole departments avail themselves of the opportunity to enroll in said correspondence courses, they also be urged to hold institutes at the conclusion of the course or courses thus made available.

7. WHEREAS, many probation officers throughout the country have expressed a need for the inspiration and help which conferences held under the auspices of the National Probation Association can provide; and

WHEREAS, comparatively few probation officers are finan-

cially able to avail themselves of the privilege of attending such conferences as now constituted; therefore be it

RESOLVED: That the Professional Council of the National Probation Association be requested to develop a definite plan for holding regional conferences with appropriate programs in cooperation with state probation associations or other regional groups at such times and places as will more adequately meet the needs of the rank and file of probation personnel.

8. WHEREAS, the cooperation of the National Probation Association has been enlisted by the Prison Industries Reorganization Administration; and

WHEREAS, the Prison Industries Reorganization Administration has taken a broad and inclusive view of the problems of prison labor and prison administration, and has included surveys of probation and parole systems in its studies in various states; therefore be it

RESOLVED: That we commend the objectives of this government agency and offer our further cooperation insofar as its work has a bearing on extension and improvement of probation and parole.

9. RESOLVED: That the National Probation Association commends Attorney General Homer S. Cummings for proposing and carrying through with great success a crime conference held in Washington in 1934, and for subsequently initiating an important survey of probation, parole, and other release procedures. We respectfully urge him to go forward in his proposed plan to develop in the United States Department of Justice practical facilities for crime prevention and control, and for the collection and dissemination of information on related subjects, bringing about important cooperation between federal, state and civic agencies.

10. WHEREAS, federal legislation has made it possible for two or more states to make compacts for mutual service with respect to the supervision of persons on probation and parole; and

WHEREAS, New York, Rhode Island, Michigan and Indiana have already passed state enabling acts providing for such compacts; therefore be it

RESOLVED: That the National Probation Association commend the prompt action of these states and urge the importance of similar action upon every other state in the Union.

11. WHEREAS, in certain cities throughout the country adequate playgrounds and other recreational facilities provide opportunity for wholesome use of leisure time, especially for youths between the ages of fourteen and twenty-one, and result in a marked decrease in delinquency; therefore be it

RESOLVED: That the Association urge the establishment of such recreational agencies and suggest that its members throughout the country take up with the proper local authorities the extension and improvement of such facilities.

12. WHEREAS, the National Probation Association has within the past year lost by death a former president of the Association, the Honorable George W. Wickersham of New York, and a former member of the Board of Trustees, Mr. Tracy W. McGregor of Washington, D. C.; and

WHEREAS, both Mr. Wickersham and Mr. McGregor gave active and devoted service to the work of the Association and the cause of probation and social administration of the courts throughout the United States; therefore be it

RESOLVED: That the Association express its deep regret at the passing of these men and its appreciation of their services as former officers, and extend its sincere sympathy to their families and associates.

13. RESOLVED: That a vote of thanks be extended to the various committees and the members of the New Jersey State Probation Officers' Association who have cooperated in the arrangements for this conference; also to the Chelsea Hotel, Atlantic City, for providing excellent meeting places and courteous service; to the newspapers, the various speakers, the officers of the Association, and all others who have helped to make this conference a very successful one. Be it

RESOLVED FURTHER: That a vote of appreciation be extended to the Executive Director of the Association, Charles L. Chute, and his assisting staff for their outstanding ability and devotion in the interests of probation work in the United States.

The first resolution was based on the discussion by the Professional Council of the misleading and unfair utterances of J. Edgar Hoover, director of the Bureau of Investigation, United States Department of Justice, regarding probation and parole. Kenyon J. Scudder of Los Angeles suggested that inasmuch as Mr. Hoover was making similar statements against the heads of institutions for delinquents, many of which are ably conducted and in charge of men and women who are members of the National Probation Association, the resolution should be amended to include reference to such utterances against institutions. The amendment was adopted and the resolution passed.

Discussion on the second resolution, in regard to including parole more actively in the program of the Association, was lively and prolonged. Albert B. Carter of Boston spoke against the resolution, stating that the Association should not take on the additional function of parole promotion nor devote time and money to raise parole to the status which probation has now attained. He asserted that the Association has a large enough task in the probation field for which it has done so much. Probation is now young and healthy, parole is undernourished. While we ought to cooperate to improve parole work, we should not take it on as an additional function. Parole work is closely tied up with the administration of institutions whereas probation belongs to the courts. Raising of parole standards should, therefore, be the function of the prison associations. The general feeling of hostility and antagonism toward parole has affected probation in less degree. Because of the popular confusion of terms, however, if the Association combines these two fields it will inherit the disapprobation and unfavorable publicity attached to parole in the public mind.

Judge Cochran at this point quoted Article II of the by-laws of the Association which specifically points out as one of its objectives, "to study and standardize methods of probation and parole work, both juvenile and adult, by conferences, field investigations and research."

Frank P. Hall of Wisconsin felt that no great financial burden need be added to the Association to include parole in its program. As parole is still in its early stages of development and poor in its operation, the Association has a duty to improve parole and would receive recognition and approval from the public rather than unfavorable publicity.

L. F. Murphy of Wisconsin stated that the National Probation Association is rightly conservative, that it is a national organization and as such must envisage the needs of the whole country in the extra-mural treatment of offenders. No essential difference exists between probation and parole, and the experience of the states in the middle-west is that we cannot separate these two. Adverse criticism should mean little if we are following the right principle.

A. C. Lindholm of Minnesota stated that probation officers in his experience frequently have a "holier than thou" attitude toward parole officers and their work, an attitude which disappears on a closer mutual acquaintance of the two groups. He saw no reason why the National Probation Association could not be an effective force in bettering parole and raising standards for the two processes simultaneously.

Mr. Chute explained that it had not been practically possible for the Association to develop parole along with probation. The Association is not merely a probation association, however, but an organization to study and develop *all* methods of correction and prevention. This resolution would not necessarily add extra expense or per-

sonnel to the organization at the present time but would emphasize the desirability of our doing more for parole than has been done in the past. The association has, in fact, been cooperating recently in an improvement of parole standards. The present trend in many states is to combine probation and parole administration, as in Wisconsin, Minnesota, Rhode Island, and more recently in Kentucky, where the Association played an active part in the formulation and promotion of new and progressive legislation. The resolution is, therefore, in line with what is actually happening. Probation and parole must stand and fall together.

A motion to table the resolution was lost. The resolution was carried, the vote finally being taken by counting of hands.

Reading of the other resolutions proceeded, and all were adopted. Some discussion followed the third resolution regarding the temporary project of the Association in promoting coordinating councils. Leo. T. Clark of Chicago asserted that the scope of the Association's activities should not be enlarged as there is danger in attempting to cover too much. In the final analysis almost every conceivable form of social work may be considered crime prevention. The primary purpose of the National Probation Association should be probation and parole work, and other activities should be covered by other agencies.

A resolution was made from the floor by Earl Sachse of Wisconsin to the effect that newspapers of the sensational type, particularly the Hearst papers, should be generally reprimanded for sensational exploitation of cases of individual offenders and more especially for their attitude toward probation and parole. In the discussion which followed, several members protested that such action would be tactless, would create ill feeling, and would

destroy the good cooperation existing in many communities between probation departments and the local press. The motion failed to pass.

The following resolution was offered from the floor by Mr. Hall of Wisconsin in favor of an objective merit system for the appointment of probation and parole officers, for permanent tenure of position and retention of at least present rates of pay, and passed after brief discussion:

WHEREAS, the use of civil service principles in the administration of probation and parole work is no longer to be considered experimental, having reached an advanced stage of development in the state governments of Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, Wisconsin and many similar jurisdictions; and

WHEREAS, the applicability of civil service methods to selection of probation officers has been successfully demonstrated in the notable instance of the juvenile court of Allegheny County, Pennsylvania, by Judge Gustav L. Schramm; and

WHEREAS, it has been conclusively shown that civil service methods in the selection and promotion of personnel achieve a maximum of fairness with a minimum of friction, while commanding the approval of an enlightened public; therefore be it

RESOLVED: That the National Probation Association go on record as heartily favoring the use of an objective merit system in the selection and tenure of office of probation and parole officers in all jurisdictions. Be it

RESOLVED FURTHER: That the National Probation Association deplores any tendency toward the reduction of salaries of probation and parole officers in the face of currently rising costs of living, and favors raising salary standards to the end that such officers may more nearly attain that professional standing which it is a primary object of this Association to promote.

A motion was made by Leo T. Clark of Chicago that the business meeting in future conferences be scheduled to allow more time for discussion and that the whole

program allow more time for recreation. The motion passed.

### *New Board Members*

Irving W. Halpern, chairman of the committee on nominations, presented the following report from his committee which included also Judge Herbert G. Cochran of Norfolk, Mrs. Elizabeth Nicklaus of Newark, and L. F. Murphy of Wisconsin:

This committee has been charged with the duty of nominating or renominating ten persons for three year terms as members of the Board of Trustees of the National Probation Association. At the time of this annual meeting the terms of the following persons expire:

Charles L. Chute, Executive Director

Dr. John H. Finley, Associate Editor, *New York Times*, New York City

Franklin Chase Hoyt, former Chief Justice, Children's Court, New York City

Justin Miller, Special Assistant to the Attorney General, Department of Justice, Washington, D. C.

Joel R. Moore, Supervisor of Probation, Department of Justice, Washington, D. C.

Mrs. Willard Parker, New York City

Joseph M. Proskauer, former Justice, Supreme Court, New York City

Professor Thorsten Sellin, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Judge George W. Smyth, Westchester County Children's Court, White Plains, New York

Judge Joseph N. Ulman, Supreme Bench, Baltimore, Maryland

After careful consideration the committee has decided to recommend for re-election for the three year term the following eight persons: Mr. Chute, Dr. Finley, Mr. Miller, Mr. Moore, Mrs. Parker, Judge Proskauer, Judge Smyth and Judge Ulman.

For one of the remaining vacancies we nominate Dr.

Sheldon Glueck, Professor of Criminology, Harvard Law School.

For the remaining vacancy the committee has decided to recommend no nomination, suggesting that the vacancy be filled by the board of trustees, as authorized by the by-laws, at its next regular meeting.

The report was adopted and the persons nominated were declared elected for the three-year term.

The meeting adjourned.

## Minutes

### MEETING OF THE PROFESSIONAL COUNCIL

THE Professional Council of the National Probation Association met at the Chelsea Hotel, Atlantic City, May 24, 1936, William J. Harper presiding.

Twenty-two of the forty-three members of the council were present representing sixteen states and the District of Columbia:

Albert B. Carter, <i>Massachusetts</i>	Robert C. Logan, <i>Kentucky</i>
A. W. Cline, <i>North Carolina</i>	Francis D. McCabe, <i>Indiana</i>
Judge Herbert G. Cochran, <i>Virginia</i>	Mary E. McChristie, <i>Ohio</i>
Edward J. Crawley, <i>Ohio</i>	Mrs. Lillian McDermott, <i>Arkansas</i>
Beulah Wood Fite, <i>Tennessee</i>	Louise McGuire, <i>District of Columbia</i>
Richard K. Godwin, <i>Connecticut</i>	Joel R. Moore, <i>District of Columbia</i>
Joseph H. Hagan, <i>Rhode Island</i>	Judge James Hoge Ricks, <i>Virginia</i>
Irving W. Halpern, <i>New York</i>	Judge Gustav L. Schramm, <i>Pennsylvania</i>
William J. Harper, <i>New York</i>	Kenyon J. Scudder, <i>California</i>
L. Wallace Hoffman, <i>Michigan</i>	Percy A. Sharpley, <i>New Jersey</i>
Abram N. Jones, <i>New York</i>	
Arthur C. Lindholm, <i>Minnesota</i>	

The minutes of the first council meeting February 29, 1936, not being available for reading, Mr. Chute on request of the chairman reported on that session.

*Council organization* On motion of Judge Cochran the council endorsed and confirmed Mr. Harper's appointment as chairman until the next annual conference of the Association. The council voted to hold its annual meeting and choose its officers at the annual conference of the Association. A vice-chairman and secretary for

the council were selected, L. F. Murphy of Wisconsin as vice-chairman, and Charles L. Chute, executive director of the Association, as secretary.

*Regional conferences and extension of local service*

The council approved the development of regional conferences by the Association. Mr. McCabe stressed the need of local conferences for probation officers who frequently cannot attend annual conferences. Mr. Carter proposed that the New England states have a conference in the fall, interest to be stimulated by the council. Mr. Lindholm reminded the council that the American Prison Association contemplated regional meetings and that the Central States Probation and Parole Conference was a sectional conference. He suggested the appointment of a committee to coordinate regional conferences and avoid duplication.

Mr. Scudder asked for more service from the Association for the Pacific Coast states. He stated that financial support for a branch office of the Association could be secured by the western states.

*The National Conference of Social Work* The time and place of meeting for the annual conference of the Association was discussed and Mr. Chute explained the relation of the Association to the National Conference of Social Work and the various ways in which the Association has in different years worked out the time and place of meeting with reference to this connection. Mr. Chute expressed the opinion that having our conference wholly within the week of the National Conference of Social Work would not be so successful as having one preliminary day for a specialized probation program. Mr. Godwin suggested that the conference be held at the same time but as an entirely separate unit. Mr. Jones

suggested joint conferences with the American Prison Association. Mr. Chute explained our relation to the American Prison Association and the development of probation conferences at the time of their meeting, particularly the regional probation conference held in Atlanta last October.

*Coordinating Councils* Mr. Lindholm questioned whether the coordinating council movement is of sufficiently vital importance to the cause of probation to warrant promotion by the Association. It is related to councils of social agencies and conferences of social work, to community chests, etc., and perhaps should be developed through such organizations. Mr. Chute explained the attitude of the board in extending Mr. Beam's services at a time when coordinating councils are new, and advice and information is needed in many widely scattered communities.

Mr. Scudder explained the rate at which the coordinating council work has developed in California and the requests for service which come to the Los Angeles department. For this reason feeling is strong in California that the work must be nationalized in some way, and if it is not continued by the Association some other national center will be found. So far no direct approach has been made to the National Conference of Social Work nor to state conferences or any other organization. Mr. Scudder regards prevention of delinquency as a new challenge to the juvenile court and probation service, and sees no reason why the Association should not sponsor the council movement.

*Protest to the Attorney General* Mr. Scudder expressed indignation at the misleading and incorrect statements regarding probation and parole made by J. Edgar

Hoover, Chief of the Bureau of Investigation of the U. S. Department of Justice. Well-informed criticism of probation and parole is something we should meet by helping to correct the causes, through publicity and otherwise, but criticism based on lies and distortion of facts creates an adverse public opinion which actually endangers the whole probation and parole program. The Attorney General at his conference on crime a year ago strongly supported probation and parole as preventive and correctional measures, but he has since then permitted Mr. Hoover to make very damaging misstatements about both. Mr. Scudder stated that he intended to protest personally to the Attorney General in regard to this, but further suggested that the council recommend to the board of the Association that a protest be made officially to the Attorney General.

Judge Cochran urged that the council recommend to the board that they consider a definite and formal protest to the Attorney General. This was agreed to.

*Parole* Judge Cochran suggested that the Association should begin to undertake for parole what it has long done for probation. He felt that the Association should concern itself with the present widespread parole criticism and should support the development of parole. He suggested that the council go on record as recommending this.

Mr. Carter raised a question as to whether this meant expanding the program of the Association to give parole the same service and attention as probation. Mr. Harper replied that this was a matter for the board to decide. A motion to specially invite parole officers to become members of the Association was made and passed.

*Other business* Mr. Moore suggested subcommittees of the council throughout the country, at least in the

well developed probation areas, with sectional meetings and sectional publicity, these subcommittees to act as local councils with their own secretaries. He called attention to the need of more constant local publicity for probation.

The meeting agreed that the council had already been very helpful in the preparation of the program for this year. Judge Ricks suggested that the program should not be packed quite so much, that more time should be allowed for discussion and recreation.

Judge Schramm raised the question of personnel standards in probation work and what the council can do about this, but there was insufficient time for discussion.

Mr. Harper raised the question of a report to the board of trustees of the Association, inasmuch as the council functions as an advisory group. It was agreed that the chairman should present the views and recommendations of the council to the board in person.

The meeting adjourned.

CHARLES L. CHUTE, *Secretary*

## Meeting of the Juvenile Court Judges

UNDER the leadership of Judge Harry L. Eastman of the juvenile court of Cleveland, a tentative plan for a national association of juvenile court judges was discussed at one of the two special sessions for judges which was part of the annual conference of the National Probation Association. Interest in such an organization had already been aroused in the New York and Ohio associations. The following twenty-five judges, representing thirteen states, were present at the meeting:

A. S. Alexander.....	Charlestown, West Virginia
Morris E. Barison.....	Jersey City, New Jersey
Fay L. Bentley.....	Washington, D. C.
Frank H. Bicek.....	Chicago, Illinois
Herbert G. Cochran.....	Norfolk, Virginia
Harry L. Eastman.....	Cleveland, Ohio
Charles C. Greer.....	Johnstown, Pennsylvania
Clark E. Higbee.....	Grand Rapids, Michigan
Kenneth D. Johnson.....	Quincy, Massachusetts
Harvey D. Lenin.....	Monmouth, New Jersey
Lee L. Ottaway.....	Jamestown, New York
Jacob Panken .....	New York City
James H. Ricks.....	Richmond, Virginia
Gustav L. Schramm.....	Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania
Harry Schwolsky .....	Hartford, Connecticut
Joseph Siegler .....	Newark, New Jersey
George W. Smyth.....	White Plains, New York
Henry S. Waldman.....	Elizabeth, New Jersey
Mamie Dowd Walker....	Durham, North Carolina
Garland M. Watkins....	Atlanta, Georgia
Rosalie Loew Whitney...	New York City
Cecil B. Wiener.....	Buffalo, New York
Leo J. Yehle.....	Syracuse, New York
William M. York.....	Greensboro, North Carolina
Thos. L. Zimmerman, Jr..	Hackensack, New Jersey

Judge Eastman opened the session with a statement of the purpose of the meeting and a resume of events leading up to it. His plan for organization, which was distributed at the meeting, read in part as follows:

Leadership in developing juvenile courts should be assumed by the judges of these courts. To do so effectually, some form of mutual association is imperative. The formation of such an association would provide the juvenile court judges of the nation with a voice which would be authoritative and which would command the attention of legislatures, the press and the general public. Its pronouncements would carry weight throughout the nation and facilitate an interpretation of the courts and their work which would go far toward correcting misunderstandings and enlisting community cooperation and support. It would further the advancement of juvenile courts and lighten the burden on the shoulders of each individual judge.

Recognizing the principle that "in union there is strength" and applying it to the local as well as the national situation, the following plan of organization is designed to encourage the formation of local groupings of judges. To this end the governing body, the council, is made up of representatives of state and regional groups wherever such exist, with provision for representation of smaller groups where state or regional groups are impractical.

The representation of each group in the council is restricted to one member (or alternate) in an effort to provide for the widest participation of courts from all sections of the country. Even though it is impossible for the judges from smaller and poorly paid courts to attend distant conferences, it is possible for them to send a representative to speak and vote for the group and carry back to it the results of the conference.

To secure a truly representative control of the organization each member of the council is given one vote for each ten members of the group from which he is accredited and an additional vote for any additional members less than a unit of ten but greater than five.

It is believed that state or regional organizations can most effectively carry out the purposes of the Association in each locality, therefore local organizations and regional meetings are encouraged.

*State and regional organization* With the exception of Maine and Wyoming there are laws providing for juvenile courts in all states of the Union. Even in Maine there is provision for the separate hearing of children's cases which in effect makes the courts juvenile courts. There are a great variety of courts exercising juvenile jurisdiction, ranging from justices and police courts to district and circuit courts. By legal enactment there are (or could be) upward of 2500 courts exercising juvenile jurisdiction in the United States. According to the directory issued by the National Probation Association, the actually organized and functioning juvenile courts number only about 1420. This number may be assumed to represent the courts from which the potential membership of the association can at present be drawn.

The wide variety of courts in each state having juvenile jurisdiction, and the short assignment of judges in many of these courts are serious handicaps that any plan of organization will have to meet and overcome. Consequently the following suggestions for state and regional groups are tentative and subject to drastic revision. It would require more detailed information than is now available to make really satisfactory groupings of even a provisional nature.

*State organization* State organizations are already in existence in New York and Ohio. Other state organizations should be possible in those states which have a large number of juvenile courts in operation. This should be especially true where juvenile jurisdiction is given to specific county courts, such as the probate courts in Michigan. New York and Ohio have demonstrated that effective state organizations are possible even where jurisdiction is divided among a number of different courts.

On this assumption, state organizations are suggested for the following states: California, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Massachusetts, Michigan, Missouri, New Jersey, New York (already organized), North Carolina, Ohio (already organized), and Virginia. . . .

The above would total 12 state associations with a potential membership of 843 judges. Probably not all judges could be persuaded to affiliate immediately, but even fifty per cent would furnish an aggregate sufficient to exercise a great influence and command national recognition.

*Regional associations* The remainder of the country could

be organized on a regional basis, with provision for any state to withdraw from its regional group upon the formation of its own state association.

This plan of organization was considered at Erie, Pennsylvania, May 2, 1936, by a joint committee on organization, the New York State Association of Children's Court Judges being represented by judges Willard M. Kent, Ithaca, *chairman*; Orla E. Black, Salamanca; Leo J. Yehle, Syracuse; Lee L. Ottaway, Jamestown, president ex officio; and the Ohio State Association of Juvenile Court Judges by judges John H. Lamneck, New Philadelphia, *chairman*; Homer W. Hammond, Lisbon; Sidney W. Jones, Warren; Harry L. Eastman, Cleveland, president ex officio.

In the discussion of the proposed plan at Atlantic City, Judge Ottaway voiced a suggestion of caution and recommended serious study before specific action is taken to promote a national organization. The New York State Association had just discussed the report of their committee and were inclined to favor a regional movement consisting perhaps of New York and Ohio and other nearby groups rather than a national plan of organization launched on a big scale. Judge Panken of New York suggested that the groups make a study of the situation and the possibility of organizing, and at the same time develop a more detailed plan for the organization itself. The question of the relationship of such a group to the National Probation Association, and the possibility of some duplication was discussed. A judges' association as a kind of council within the Association was proposed. Judge Smyth suggested that it was better to strengthen an existing organization such as the National Probation Association than to create a new one particularly in view of the magnitude of such a task as organization of a new national association. The wisdom

of developing state associations first was emphasized by several judges. Judge York suggested that the National Probation Association encourage the formation of such groups.

The meeting finally voted that Judge Eastman appoint a committee to study the matter further and consider the question of affiliation, the committee to report at a similar meeting of the judges at the next annual conference of the Association.

## Report of the Committee on Case Records

E. FRED SWEET

*Chief Probation Officer, United States  
District Court, New York*

ONE of the most important functions of the National Probation Association is the promotion of social case work in the courts and the improvement of probation work throughout the country. State boundaries do not exist for the Association as its job is to bring probation in all courts to the highest possible standard. While it has no authority to direct or order certain procedures or methods, its advisory services have always been available to any court. It has in the past offered forms for case records and has suggested methods and procedures. These forms, sometimes modified for individual courts, are at present in use in a number of places. In this respect the Association has been of greater help to the small department and the individual probation officer whose work does not justify a more elaborate system of records.

As certain recommended forms had been in use for many years, a committee of six was appointed by the Association last spring to consider revision. This committee, representing county, state, and federal probation work, has been meeting in New York during the past three months and studying to improve the juvenile and adult blanks. The members of the committee are: E. Fred Sweet, Chief Probation Officer, United States District Court, New York, Chairman; Agnes C. Sullivan, Probation Examiner, Division of Probation, New York State Department of Correction; Ethel N. Cherry, Case Work Supervisor, Westchester County Probation De-

partment, White Plains, New York; Elizabeth E. Nicklaus, Executive Assistant, Essex County Probation Department, Newark, New Jersey; Rosalie Supplee, Deputy Chief Probation Officer, Court of General Sessions, New York; Marjorie Bell, Assistant Director, National Probation Association.

It is the desire of the Association to present for use minimum essentials in case record keeping. To that end the committee has worked out two sets of forms (adult and juvenile), each of which may be considered an absolute minimum for any probation system.

In studying and revising the record blanks the committee determined upon four basic forms, (the index card, the face sheet, the preliminary investigation, and the supervision history) as the nucleus of a record system for either an adult department or a children's court. In order of use we may consider the index card first. The committee is of the opinion that the best method of case filing is by number. The key to these files is a plain alphabetical card of standard size, preferably three by five inches. The index card serves *only* as a guide to the case folder in the file cabinet, and therefore it should contain very limited identifying data. The committee favored a very simple layout.

Statistical information should not be included in the index as it is impractical to make the card serve a double purpose. The card as given serves for either adult or juvenile cases. Space is provided for dates of reopening and closing. The index cards may be of different colors to indicate different types of cases such as juvenile, adult or domestic relations. In certain systems it may be desirable to add to the index card the name of the sentencing judge or some other special item. However, this is of no advantage unless it has an important bearing on the location of a record in the cabinet. This index card can

be filed in a simple drawer file or used in a visible index system.

The next form to consider is the face sheet, used by all case work agencies and to some degree standardized for various types of work. The committee believes that this form should differ slightly for juvenile and adult probation. For the juvenile face sheet a single page provides for sufficient more or less permanent information, thus giving the reader an immediate bird's eye view of certain basic facts regarding the individual and his family.

The committee made every effort to organize the face sheet data, eliminating non-essentials and presenting material in as clear and logical an arrangement as possible. Lines have been reduced to a minimum as it is the experience of many departments that they actually impede practical use of the face sheet both in reading and in making entries, whether typewritten or by hand. Compactness in spacing and in arrangement was part of the objective in revising this form.

It was necessary in preparing face sheets for adults to use both sides of the page because of the additional court, institutional and employment history called for. There are two families about which information must be given in an adult case, the defendant's parents, brothers and sisters, and his present family if he is married. Provision also has to be made for aliases and for physical description of the probationer which is unimportant in a juvenile history. The general plan of presentation of material is similar for both adult and juvenile records.

These face sheets are of standard size, eight and a half by eleven inches. The committee was unanimous in their opinion that probation histories should not be kept on legal sized paper, which is clumsy for filing and awkward for reading. It is frequently possible, in the juvenile court at least, to have court forms printed on standard

stationery instead of legal cap, so that all the material in the folder will be uniform. For either type of case, however, if legal forms must be on legal paper they can be filed separately within the folder to avoid bulk and unevenness. Ledger bond paper is suggested.

In considering a form for pre-sentence or preliminary investigation reports, the committee after studying the old Association form No. 2, which was a brief topical outline, decided that a few topics such as those suggested may operate to limit the scope of the investigation itself. It was therefore decided that this old form should be discarded, and in its place should be offered a guide for preparing an investigation report or, as the new forms are titled, a guide for recording the initial social study or social history. Instead of a printed form for each case, one guide for each worker is sufficient. The regular stationery of the department is suitable, or a simple printed form containing the name of the court and space for the name of the child or defendant, the offense or reason for court appearance, and perhaps one or two other items. The committee believes that this outline or guide properly emphasizes the *individual approach*, which is all-important. It is in no sense exhaustive and should not be followed point for point.

Reports vary with different courts, and their form and completeness vary with individual probation workers. In the opinion of the committee the report should not be written for the judge alone, nor indeed *primarily* for the court. The report is, first of all *for the individual*. It should be so presented as to be valuable to any other social agency interested in the individual or his family. In some probation systems reports are readily adapted for use by institution heads and parole officials. The form suggested includes information which may be of more value to institutional and parole authorities than

to the court. Minor changes can be easily made, such as a change in the title or the elimination of recommendations, but the committee is convinced that the guide provides for minimum rather than maximum phases of inquiry and should be enlarged rather than reduced.

Printed forms for supervision records are unnecessary. The committee plans to study methods of supervision recording, particularly to compare, for probation work, the chronological and the block types. The older method of chronological reporting produces a running history of developments as they occur, the block method is by topical summaries at more or less regular intervals. Headings or titles may be used with either style of recording and facilitate search for specific information.

The committee expects to reorganize in the fall to continue its work. Some of the subjects which may then be considered in addition to the recording of the process of supervision, are the use of probation records for research and the application of case recording to intensively treated and slightly treated cases. The committee plans to produce a pamphlet on the subject, perhaps in the nature of a manual or handbook, and is open to suggestions from anyone interested.

## NATIONAL PROBATION ASSOCIATION

Organized 1907, Incorporated 1921

50 WEST FIFTIETH STREET  
NEW YORK CITY

### OFFICERS AND BOARD 1936-1937

*PRESIDENT and CHAIRMAN, BOARD OF TRUSTEES*  
CHARLES EVANS HUGHES, Jr., New York City

#### VICE PRESIDENT

JUSTIN MILLER, Special Assistant to the Attorney General,  
Department of Justice, Washington, D. C.

#### TREASURER

HENRY DEFOREST BALDWIN, New York City

#### HONORARY VICE PRESIDENTS

JOSEPH LEE, Boston, Massachusetts  
JULIAN W. MACK, Judge, U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals, New York City  
HERBERT C. PARSONS, Director, Massachusetts Child Council, Boston,  
Massachusetts  
EDWARD F. WAITE, Judge, District Court, Juvenile Division, Minneapolis,  
Minnesota

### BOARD OF TRUSTEES

Terms Expire 1939

CHARLES L. CHUTE, New York City  
JOHN H. FINLEY, Associate Editor, New York Times, New York City  
SHELDON GLUECK, Professor of Criminology, Harvard Law School, Cambridge, Massachusetts  
JUSTIN MILLER, Special Assistant to the Attorney General, Department of Justice, Washington, D. C.  
JOEL R. MOORE, Supervisor of Probation, Department of Justice, Washington, D. C.  
MRS. WILLARD PARKER, New York City  
JOSEPH M. PROSKAUER, former Justice, Supreme Court, New York City  
†\*GEORGE W. SMYTH, Judge, Westchester County Children's Court, White Plains, N. Y.  
JOSEPH N. ULMAN, Judge, Supreme Bench, Baltimore, Maryland

Terms Expire 1938

†\*HENRY DEFOREST BALDWIN, New York City  
MRS. SIDNEY C. BORG, Vice President, Federation of Jewish Philanthropies, New York City  
MRS. FRANK DODGE, Chairman, Advisory Committee, State Juvenile Court Department, Little Rock, Arkansas  
MRS. DORA SHAW HEFFNER, Referee, Juvenile Court, Los Angeles, California  
†\*CHARLES EVANS HUGHES, Jr., New York City  
\*JOSEPH P. MURPHY, Chief, Essex County Probation Department, Newark, New Jersey  
JOHN FORBES PERKINS, Judge, Juvenile Court, Boston, Massachusetts  
†\*PERCIVAL WILDS, Riverdale, New York

\* Member Executive Committee

†\* Member Finance Committee

## ADVISORY COMMITTEE

419

Terms Expire 1937

- HERBERT G. COCHRAN, Judge, Juvenile and Domestic Relations Court, Norfolk, Virginia  
 HARRY L. EASTMAN, Judge, Juvenile Court, Cleveland, Ohio  
 \*HENRY P. FAIRCHILD, New York University, New York City  
 \*IRVING W. HALPERN, Chief Probation Officer, Court of General Sessions, New York City  
 CHARLES W. HOFFMAN, Judge, Court of Domestic Relations, Cincinnati, Ohio  
 †SAM A. LEWISOHN, New York City  
 NEWBOLD NOYES, The Evening Star, Washington, D. C.  
 †JOSEPH SIEGLER, Judge, Juvenile and Domestic Relations Court, Newark, New Jersey  
 ALFRED E. SMITH, former Governor of New York State, New York City  
 †FRANK C. VAN CLEEF, New York City

## ADVISORY COMMITTEE

- FLORENCE E. ALLEN, Judge, U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals, Cincinnati, Ohio  
 SANFORD BATES, Director, Bureau of Prisons, Department of Justice, Washington, D. C.  
 CHARLES C. BURLINGHAM, New York City  
 ROYAL S. COPELAND, U. S. Senator, New York City  
 ABRAHAM FLEXNER, The Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, New Jersey  
 BERNARD FLEXNER, New York City  
 JOHN GRIBBEL, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania  
 MRS. HARRY HART, Chicago, Illinois  
 RALPH JONAS, New York City  
 HOWARD A. KELLY, Baltimore, Maryland  
 FREDERIC KERNOCHAN, Chief Justice, Court of Special Sessions, New York City  
 GEORGE W. KIRCHWEY, New York City  
 THE RT. REV. WILLIAM LAWRENCE, Boston, Massachusetts  
 ADOLPH LEWISOHN, New York City  
 GEORGE MACDONALD, New York City  
 WILLIAM M. MALTBIE, Chief Justice, Supreme Court of Errors, Hartford, Connecticut  
 JOSEPH E. MEYER, Judge, Juvenile Court, Des Moines, Iowa  
 SPENCER MILLER, Jr., Workers Educational Bureau, New York City  
 RAYMOND MOLEY, Editor, *Today*, New York City  
 MRS. W. L. MURDOCH, Birmingham, Alabama  
 MRS. GIFFORD PINCHOT, Milford, Pennsylvania  
 JAMES H. POST, New York City  
 ROSCOE POUND, Dean, Harvard Law School, Cambridge, Massachusetts  
 VICTOR F. RIDDER, New York City  
 THEODORE ROOSEVELT, Oyster Bay, New York  
 HENRY W. TAFT, New York City  
 MRS. LEWIS S. THOMPSON, Red Bank, New Jersey  
 MIRIAM VAN WATERS, Superintendent, Reformatory for Women, Framingham, Massachusetts  
 MARTIN H. VOGEL, New York City  
 MRS. MARJORIE PEABODY WAITE, Saratoga Springs, New York  
 MRS. PERCY T. WALDEN, New Haven, Connecticut  
 RABBI STEPHEN S. WISE, Free Synagogue, New York City  
 B. LORING YOUNG, Chairman, Massachusetts Board of Probation, Boston, Massachusetts

## STAFF

- CHARLES L. CHUTE, Executive Director  
 KENNETH KENNETH-SMITH, Associate Director  
 MARJORIE BELL, Assistant Director  
 FRANCIS H. HILLER, Field Director  
 KENNETH S. BEAM, Special Field Agent  
 MARY D. BLANKENHORN, Publicity Director  
 R. GARNIER STREIT, Financial Assistant  
 EDITH M. MCWILLIAMS, Librarian  
 SALLIE H. UNDERWOOD, Office Manager

\* Member Executive Committee

†\* Member Finance Committee

## PROFESSIONAL COUNCIL OF THE NATIONAL PROBATION ASSOCIATION

W. H. BECKHAM, Judge, Juvenile Court, Miami, Florida  
ALBERT B. CARTER, State Commissioner of Probation, Boston, Massachusetts  
RICHARD A. CHAPPELL, Chief Probation Officer, U. S. District Court, Atlanta, Georgia  
A. W. CLINE, Chief Probation Officer, Domestic Relations Court, Winston-Salem, North Carolina  
HERBERT G. COCHRAN, Judge, Juvenile and Domestic Relations Court, Norfolk, Virginia  
EDWARD J. CRAWLEY, Chief Probation Officer, Municipal Court, Cleveland, Ohio  
W. S. CRISWELL, Judge, Juvenile Court, Jacksonville, Florida  
CLEATIE H. DEVINE, Chief Probation Officer, Juvenile Court, Des Moines, Iowa  
BEULAH WOOD FITE, Chief Probation Officer, Juvenile Court, Memphis, Tennessee  
MARION L. GIBSON, Chief Probation Officer, Juvenile Court, Omaha, Nebraska  
CLARENCE H. GILBERT, Judge, Domestic Relations Court, Portland, Oregon  
RICHARD K. GODWIN, State Deputy Chief Probation Officer, Juvenile Court, Hartford, Connecticut  
LETTIE V. GOOD, Secretary, State Probation Commission, Portland, Oregon  
JOSEPH H. HAGAN, Director, State Bureau of Probation, Parole and Criminal Statistics, Providence, Rhode Island  
IRVING W. HALPERN, Chief Probation Officer, Court of General Sessions, New York City  
MRS. CLIO HARPER, State Supervisor, Juvenile Court Division, Attorney General's Department, Little Rock, Arkansas  
WILLIAM J. HARPER, Director, Westchester County Probation Department, White Plains, New York  
L. WALLACE HOFFMAN, Probation Officer, U. S. District Court, Detroit, Michigan  
ABRAM N. JONES, Chief Probation Officer, Monroe County Court, Rochester, New York  
ARTHUR C. LINDHOLM, Chairman, State Board of Parole, St. Paul, Minnesota  
ROBERT C. LOGAN, Chief Probation Officer, Juvenile Court, Louisville, Kentucky  
FRANCIS D. McCABE, State Director of Probation, Indianapolis, Indiana  
MARY EDNA McCHRISTIE, Assistant Chief and Referee, Girls' Division, Domestic Relations Court, Cincinnati, Ohio  
MRS. LILLIAN McDERMOTT, Chief Probation Officer, Juvenile Court, Little Rock, Arkansas  
JOEL R. MOORE, Supervisor of Probation, U. S. Department of Justice, Washington, D. C.  
JOSEPH P. MURPHY, Chief, Essex County Probation Department, Newark, New Jersey  
L. F. MURPHY, State Supervisor, Probation and Parole, Madison, Wisconsin  
JOHN PLOVER, State Supervisor of Probation, San Francisco, California  
JAMES HOGE RICKS, Judge, Juvenile and Domestic Relations Court, Richmond, Virginia  
B. H. ROBINSON, Secretary, State Juvenile Court Commission, Salt Lake City, Utah  
R. C. ROEBUCK, Chief Probation Officer, Juvenile Court, Houston, Texas  
GUSTAV L. SCHRAMM, Judge, Juvenile Court, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania  
KENYON J. SCUDDER, Probation Officer, Los Angeles County, Los Angeles, California

PAUL E. SEIDLER, Probation Officer, U. S. District Court, New Orleans,  
Louisiana  
PERCY A. SHARPLEY, Chief, Hudson County Probation Department, Jersey  
City, New Jersey  
PATRICK J. SHELLY, Chief Probation Officer, City Magistrates Court, New  
York City  
WILLIAM L. STUCKERT, Chief Probation Officer, Supreme Bench, Baltimore,  
Maryland  
EDWARD J. TAYLOR, Director of Probation, Department of Correction, Albany,  
New York  
CHARLES B. VAUGHAN, Probation Officer, U. S. District Court, Greenville,  
South Carolina  
EDWARD P. VOLZ, Chief Probation Officer, Erie County Courts, Buffalo, New  
York  
MILTON WEIFFENBACH, Probation Officer, U. S. District Court, St. Louis,  
Missouri

CASE RECORD COMMITTEE

E. FRED SWEET, Chief Probation Officer, U. S. District Court, New York City,  
*Chairman*  
AGNES C. SULLIVAN, Probation Examiner, Division of Probation, New York  
State Department of Correction, Albany, N. Y.  
ETHEL N. CHERRY, Case Work Supervisor, Westchester County Probation De-  
partment, White Plains, New York  
ELIZABETH E. NICKLAUS, Executive Assistant, Essex County Probation  
Department, Newark, New Jersey  
ROSALIE SUPPLEE, Deputy Chief Probation Officer, Court of General Sessions,  
New York City  
MARJORIE BELL, Assistant Director, National Probation Association, New York  
City

## By-laws

### NATIONAL PROBATION ASSOCIATION, INC.

Adopted May 31, 1919. Amended April 14, 1920; June 21, 1921; June 22, 1922; June 9, 1929; May 14, 1932.

#### ARTICLE I—NAME

The corporate name of this organization shall be the National Probation Association, Incorporated.

#### ARTICLE II—OBJECTS

The objects of this Association are:

To study and standardize methods of probation and parole work, both juvenile and adult, by conferences, field investigations and research;

To extend and develop the probation system by legislation, the publication and distribution of literature, and in other ways;

To promote the establishment and development of juvenile courts, domestic relations or family courts and other specialized courts using probation;

To cooperate so far as possible with all movements promoting the scientific and humane treatment of delinquency and its prevention.

#### ARTICLE III—MEMBERSHIP

The membership of the Association shall consist of persons and organizations who apply for membership and are accepted by the Board of Trustees and who pay dues annually. Members shall be classified as active members, contributing members, supporting members, sustaining members, patrons, life members, and organization members. Active members shall be those who pay dues of \$2.00 or more a year; except that when arrangements are made for the affiliation of all the members of a state or local association of probation officers, paying joint dues in the local and national

association, the Board of Trustees may authorize a reduction of dues for active membership. Contributing members shall be those who contribute \$5.00 or more annually to the Association. Supporting members shall be those who contribute \$10.00 or more annually to the Association. Sustaining members shall be those who contribute \$25.00 or more annually to the Association. Patrons shall be those who contribute \$100 or more during a single calendar year. Life members shall be those who contribute \$1000.00 or more to the Association. Organization members shall consist of organizations, courts or institutions which shall contribute \$10.00 or more annually to the Association. Members who fail to pay their dues after reasonable notice in writing by the treasurer or executive director shall thereupon cease to be members.

#### ARTICLE IV—OFFICERS

The officers of the Association shall consist of a president, one or more vice presidents, and a treasurer who shall be elected annually by the Board of Trustees and shall serve until their successors are elected, and an executive director who shall be elected by said board to serve during its pleasure. The board also in its discretion may elect honorary officers who shall serve for such terms as the board shall determine.

#### ARTICLE V—DUTIES OF OFFICERS

The president, or in his absence a vice president, shall act as chairman at all business meetings of the Association. The treasurer shall have charge of the finances of the Association and shall report thereon to the Board of Trustees. The executive director shall be the chief executive officer of the Association. He shall be paid such compensation as may be determined by the board.

#### ARTICLE VI—OTHER EMPLOYEES

Other members of the executive staff and clerical assistants shall be appointed in such manner and for such terms and compensation as may be determined from time to time by the Board of Trustees.

## ARTICLE VII—BOARD OF TRUSTEES

The Board of Trustees shall consist of thirty members to be elected by the members of the Association at its annual meeting. The twenty-one directors now in office whose terms expire subsequent to the annual meeting in May, 1932, shall continue to hold office as trustees until the expiration of the terms for which they were respectively elected. At the annual meeting in May, 1932, nine additional trustees shall be elected, three for terms of one year each, three for terms of two years each, and three for terms of three years each. At each annual meeting thereafter, ten trustees shall be elected for terms of three years each. The board may fill any vacancy, however created, occurring among the officers or members of the Board of Trustees for the unexpired term. The board shall elect a chairman annually. He shall preside at the meetings of the board and shall be ex officio a member of all committees of the board.

## ARTICLE VIII—DUTIES OF TRUSTEES

The Board of Trustees shall elect the officers, shall have general direction of the work of the Association and shall administer the funds of the Association. It shall report to the Association at the annual meeting and at such other times as the Association may require.

## ARTICLE IX—COMMITTEES

There shall be an executive committee elected annually by the board, which shall consist of the chairman of the board, who shall be chairman of the executive committee, and six other members. Such committee shall have the powers and perform the duties of the Board of Trustees between the meetings of the board, subject to the confirmation of its action by the board. Three members shall constitute a quorum.

There shall be a finance committee consisting of a chairman and such other members as shall be determined by the Board of Trustees. Its duties shall be those which usually pertain to such a committee. It shall be appointed in the manner provided for by the board.

A nominating committee consisting of five members of the Association shall be appointed by the president each year to nominate candidates for membership on the Board of Trustees.

Such other standing and special committees as may be authorized by the Association or the Board of Trustees shall be appointed by the president, unless otherwise directed by the Association or by the board.

#### ARTICLE X—MEETINGS

The annual meeting of the Association shall be held on the third Tuesday in May or on such day and at such place as may be determined by the trustees. Special meetings may be held as determined by the trustees. Ten members shall constitute a quorum. Meetings of the Board of Trustees shall be held at such times and places as the board may determine. One-third of the members shall constitute a quorum of the board.

#### ARTICLE XI—AMENDMENTS

These by-laws may be amended by a two-thirds vote of the members of the Association present at the annual meeting, subject to the approval of the Board of Trustees.

## The Program of the National Probation Association

**T**HE Association is the only national agency exclusively engaged in the effort to extend and improve probation service, together with juvenile and other specialized courts for effective dealing with child and family problems. It is concerned with the coordination of probation, parole and institutional work and interested in all measures for the effective social treatment and prevention of crime.

The Association has:

1. a nation-wide membership of probation workers, judges and citizens interested in the successful application of the probation principle;
2. an active continuing board of trustees made up of prominent judges, probation workers and representative citizens;
3. an experienced staff which carries on its program.

In its working program the Association:

1. conducts city and state-wide surveys of courts and probation departments, prepares reports, organizes and cooperates with local committees and agencies to maintain and develop effective probation and social court organization;
2. drafts laws to extend and improve probation and juvenile courts, and assists in securing the enactment of these laws;
3. aids judges in securing competent probation officers and assists the officers and other qualified persons in obtaining placements;
4. promotes state supervision of probation and cooperates with state departments and associations;
5. conducts a national probation conference and assists with special conferences and institutes for training probation officers;
6. carries on a research program for the study of practical problems in this field;
7. serves as a clearing house for information and literature on

probation, juvenile courts, domestic relations courts, and crime prevention, for the entire country;

8. publishes a bimonthly magazine, *Probation*, with information and practical articles; the *Yearbook*, with addresses and reports of the annual conference; a *National Directory of Probation Officers*; summaries of juvenile court and probation legislation; case record forms for probation officers; reports of surveys and studies; practical leaflets and pamphlets.

*Membership in the Association is open to everyone. Each member receives the bimonthly magazine, Probation, and the Yearbook upon request.*

Membership classes: active, \$2; contributing, \$5; supporting, \$10; sustaining, \$25; patron, \$100 or over.

The Association is supported entirely by membership dues and voluntary contributions. Gifts are urgently needed to meet the growing needs of the work and the many requests for assistance from courts and communities all over the country. Contributions to the Association are deductible from income tax returns.

### FORM OF BEQUEST

*I devise and bequeath to the National Probation Association, Inc., incorporated under Article Three of the Membership Corporation Law of the State of New York, to be applied to the benevolent uses and purposes of said Association, and under its direction [here insert description of the money or property given]....*

## Index

### A

Abbott, Grace, 284  
Adolescence, 253 ff  
Adult probation (see Probation, adult)  
Aichhorn, August, 181  
Alexander, Franz, 176, 181  
Allen, Frederick H., 182  
American Prison Association, 186, 353, 391, 403, 405  
American Prison Congress, 380  
Aristotle (quoted), 343  
Attorney General of U. S. (see U. S. Attorney General)  
Augustus, John, 156

### B

Bates, Sanford, 121, 127  
Beam, Kenneth S., 24, 26, 30, 117, 118, 150, 378 ff, 393, 405  
paper, 89  
Bell, Marjorie, 373, 374, 380, 386, 391  
paper, 156  
Big Brother and Big Sister Organization, 80, 81, 83, 87, 96, 138, 315, 365  
Blankenhorn, Mary D., 386  
Boy Scouts, 52, 70, 71, 75, 97, 100, 101, 365  
Bromberg, Walter, 176  
Bureau of Prisons (see U. S. Bureau of Prisons)  
Burns, Allen T., 121, 124

### C

C. C. C. (see Civilian Conservation Corps)  
C. W. A. (see Civil Works Administration)  
Camp Fire Girls, 70, 365  
Cardozo, Benjamin (quoted), 310  
Carr, Lowell J., 119, 122, 129  
Carter, Albert B., 397, 404, 406  
Case work, 163, 165, 167, 183, 184, 209 ff, 283  
case recording, 240 ff, 413  
relationships, 193 ff  
with adults, 222 ff, 233 ff  
Chicago  
community organization in, 28, 138  
probation project, 60 ff  
Child guidance clinics (see Clinics, child guidance)  
Children's Bureau (see U. S. Children's Bureau)  
Chute, Charles L., 118, 124, 150, 391, 396, 398, 404, 405, 407  
paper, 372  
Civil Works Administration, 92  
Civilian Conservation Corps, 6, 385  
Clark, Leo T., 399, 400  
Clinics  
child guidance, 18, 182, 198, 207, 256, 283  
psychiatric, 266 ff  
Cochran, Herbert G., 119, 398, 406  
Collington, Florence E., 131  
Community councils (see Coordinating councils)

Community organization (see also Coordinating councils)  
principles of, 26, 37 ff, 87, 92, 106, 364

Coordinating councils (see also Community organizations), 1-156, 282, 312, 377  
accomplishments of, 95  
bibliography, 153  
causes of failure, 103  
characteristics of, 90  
national advisory committee, 118, 149  
national conference on, 116  
requisites of success, 106  
roster of, 135 ff  
trends, 111

Coulson, Mary L., 125

Courteau, Arthur G-T., 123

Crawley, Edward J. (paper), 233

Crime (see also Delinquency)  
causes of, 4, 175 ff, 329  
control of, 21, 325 ff, 345 ff  
prevention, 1 ff, 175 ff  
treatment of, 180 ff, 357 ff

Cushman, Roy, 127, 138

## D

Delinquency (see also Crime)  
areas, 8, 11, 17, 20, 22, 33, 49, 56, 71, 93, 137, 274  
causes of, 47, 61, 66, 197, 313  
federal cases, 291 ff  
prevention, 14, 46 ff, 89 ff  
treatment, 175 ff

Department of Justice (see U. S. Department of Justice)

Dickens, Charles (quoted), 48

Dickson, Virgil, 136

## E

E. R. A. (see Emergency Relief Administration)

Eastman, Harry L., 408, 412

Echols, Marion, 130

Eddy, Paul D., 124

Eliot, Thomas D. (quoted), 311, 313

Emergency Relief Administration, 92

## G

Gibberd, Eric W., 134

Girl Scouts, 70, 365

Glueck, Bernard (quoted), 180

Glueck, Sheldon, 208, 350, 360, 402  
paper, 325

Godwin, Richard K., 404

Gosling, Thomas W., 119

Guild, Arthur Alden (paper), 37

## H

Hagan, Joseph H., 391

Hagerty, Frank W., 234

Hall, Frank P., 398, 400

Halpern, Irving W., 401

Harper, William J., 406, 407

Hartwell, Samuel W., 200, 202

Hastings-on-Hudson coordinating council, 78 ff, 92, 99, 102, 141

Hawes-Cooper Law, 351

Healy, William, 176, 200, 202, 203, 226

Hendry, Charles E. (paper), 24

Hertzog, Walter, 71

Hiller, Francis H., 150, 301, 304, 373, 375, 376, 377, 378, 380, 382, 384

Hoover, J. Edgar, 266, 392, 397, 405

Hyatt, Carl Britt (paper), 291

## I

International Penal and Penitentiary Congress, 381

Israel, Henry, 126

## J

- Jennings, Ruth, 126, 128  
 Jones, Abram N., 404  
 Juvenile court, 106, 185, 193 ff,  
     242, 280 ff, 294, 330  
     dependency cases in, 217, 281,  
     286  
     function of, 285, 287, 289, 299  
     history of, 209, 281, 291, 309  
     intake, 209 ff  
     judges, 309 ff  
     meeting, 408  
 Junior League, 159, 166

## K

- Kennedy, Isabel, 123  
 Kerby, William J. (quoted), 50  
 Klein, Philip (quoted), 239

## L

- Lathrop, Julia, 209, 282  
 League of Women Voters, 172,  
     173  
 Lehman, Herbert H., 367  
 Lenroot, Katharine F. (paper),  
     280  
 Levy, Beatrice, 210  
     quoted, 209  
 Levy, David, 181  
     quoted, 180  
 Lindholm, A. C., 398, 404  
 Los Angeles coordinating council,  
     43, 67 ff, 78, 82, 89, 92, 98, 100,  
     102, 125, 127, 135, 136, 282,  
     405  
 Lou, Herbert H. (quoted), 309,  
     315

## M

- MacCormick, Austin H. (paper),  
     357

- Mayo, Leonard W. (paper), 78  
 McCabe, Francis D., 404  
 McCarthy, Claire, 129  
 McGuire, Louise (paper), 46  
 Milford Conference, 222  
 Miller, Justin, 120, 125  
     quoted, 4  
 Moore, Joel R., 406  
 Murchison, Carl, 176  
 Murphy, L. F., 398

## N

- N. Y. A. (see National Youth Ad-  
 ministration)  
 National Advisory Committee  
     (see Coordinating councils)  
 National Commission on Law Ob-  
 servance and Enforcement, 293  
 National Committee for Mental  
 Hygiene, 192  
 National Committee on Public  
 Education for Crime Control, 5  
 National Conference on Coordi-  
 nating Councils (see Coordinat-  
 ing councils)  
 National Conference of Social  
 Work, 81, 117, 150, 379, 404,  
     405  
 National Probation Association,  
     81, 87, 116, 118, 135, 149, 150,  
     151, 157, 186, 282, 286, 293,  
     301, 355, 408, 410, 411, 413  
     addresses, 382  
     advisory committee, 419  
     annual meeting, 391  
     resolutions, 391, 400  
     by-laws, 422 ff  
     committees, 385, 413, 421  
     coordinating council project, 377  
     conferences, 379, 380, 404  
     field service, 372, 377  
     institutes, 380  
     membership, 386, 427

officers and board, 401, 418  
 professional council, 385, 391,  
 403, 420  
 program, 426  
 publications, 383  
 publicity, 386  
 report, 372  
 staff, 419  
 treasurer's report, 388  
 National Youth Administration,  
 65, 92, 112  
 Neary, Mary A. (paper), 209

O

Ottaway, Lee L., 411

P

Panken, Jacob, 411  
 Parent-teacher association, 19, 54,  
 71, 108, 129, 159  
 Parole, 185, 191, 346, 351, 361,  
 392, 397, 406  
 Payne Fund Studies, 50  
 Prison Industries Reorganization  
 Administration, 353, 355, 377,  
 391, 395  
 Prison reorganization, 345 ff  
 Probation (see also Case work),  
 60, 185, 191, 242, 317 ff, 332 ff,  
 345, 348, 351, 361, 392  
 adult, 222 ff, 233 ff  
 officers, 193 ff, 266, 298, 319 ff,  
 325 ff  
 Professional Council (see National  
 Probation Association)

R

Recreation, 11, 31, 62 ff, 99, 129,  
 187, 256  
 Reeves, Elmer W. (paper), 222  
 Richmond, Mary, 333  
 Ricks, James H., 407

Roberts, Mrs. W. A., 127  
 Robinson, Virginia P., 202  
 Robison, Sophia M., 133

S

Sachse, Earl, 399  
 Schools (see also Visiting teach-  
 er), 17, 40, 44, 54, 58, 82, 91  
 130, 132, 257, 313  
 Schramm, Gustav L. (paper),  
 298, 407  
 Scudder, Kenyon J., 121, 149, 397  
 404, 405  
 paper, 67  
 Selling, Lowell S., 276  
 paper, 266  
 Shaw, Clifford R., 24, 33, 139  
 Shulman, Harry M., 24  
 Slawson, John (paper), 175  
 Smyth, George W., 411  
 Standard Juvenile Court Law, 309  
 Sullivan, Agnes C. (paper), 240  
 Sweet, E. Fred (paper), 413  
 Swiggard, Margaret M., 132

T

Thom, Douglas A. (paper), 253  
 Thrasher, Frederic M., 24, 141  
 paper, 1

U

Ulman, Joseph N. (paper), 345  
 U. S. Attorney General, 293, 296,  
 384, 385, 391, 395, 405, 406  
 conference on crime, 149  
 U. S. Bureau of Prisons, 293, 294  
 U. S. Children's Bureau, 60, 116,  
 139, 187, 195, 286, 292, 294,  
 299, 300, 305  
 U. S. Department of Justice, 293,  
 295, 296, 297, 368, 384, 392, 395

## V

Van Waters, Miriam, 200, 202,  
293, 300  
Visiting teacher, 18  
Vollmer, August, 68, 136  
Volunteers, 156 ff, 306

## W

W. P. A. (see Works Progress  
Administration)  
Waldman, Henry S. (paper), 309  
Walker, Mamie D., 129  
Waltz, Henry W., 187  
paper, 60

Wann, Harry A., 122  
Weiss, Hans (paper), 193  
Wiener, Cecil B. (paper), 317  
Works Progress Administration,  
32, 63, 92, 98, 99, 112, 136, 139

## Y

York, William M., 412  
Young Men's Christian Associa-  
tion, 70, 97, 100, 101, 116, 315,  
365  
Young Women's Christian Asso-  
ciation, 101, 365

